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EDITORIAL

ENTER, THE GANG OF FIVE?

As has been widely reported, the world community is now committed to free elections in Namibia, supervised by the United Nations. What is still pretty much unpublicized is the fact that the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council—acting with rare unanimity—have told Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar that they want to cut $200 million from the budget that guarantees the elections. That would mean at least 2,000 fewer blue-helmeted troops making sure the South-West Africa People's Organization gets a fair deal at the polls.

The superpowers' might-makes-right logic is that since they contribute nearly 58 percent of the U.N.'s peacekeeping budget they ought to have 100 percent of the say about how much is needed to keep the peace. This highhanded strategy has been denounced not only by Swapo but by Angola and the other front-line states, Cuba, the Organization of African Unity, the nonaligned nations and many major human rights agencies. As they see it, the U.N. cutbacks would facilitate South Africa's plans to destabilize Namibia and cause political chaos on election day later this year.

The permanent members—the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France and Britain—have set a dangerous precedent by ganging up to get their way on Security Council resolutions. Moreover, their pressure is an embarrassment to Secretary General Pérez de Cuéllar, whom they are asking to renege on a commitment that has the support of nearly three-quarters of the U.N.'s member nations. But the real cause for concern is what the exercise of such budgetary clout augurs for the future of the United Nations.

It would be a tragedy if the ending of the cold war marked the beginning of a hegemony by a gang of five, cutting deals at the expense of the nonaligned and of movements not yet born.

CAPITALISM & ITS BEASTS
Alexander Cockburn

CAMBODIA: THE ECONOMY
Susan Blaustein

THE KHMER ROUGE
Mary Kay Magistad

VIGUERIE'S VAGARIES
Alan Pell Crawford

BUGS AND BEANS IN MOSCOW
David Corn

WHO VOTES AND WHY
Alex Willingham

A LESSON FROM WORLD WAR II

HOW TO RAISE MONEY FOR THE CLASS OF 2000

FRANK OSKI

We appear to have given up on our collective concern for the future. How else to explain what we have done—or, more accurately, not done—to safeguard the human resource embodied by our children?

Almost 4 million of them entered the Class of 2000 this school year and thus should graduate from high school at the turn of the century. One in four lives or has lived in poverty, one in five is at risk of becoming a teen-age parent, one in six is not covered by health insurance, and one in seven may not complete high school. One in two has a mother in the labor force, but only one licensed day care spot is available for every twenty of these children.

Members of the Class of 2000 have already surmounted considerable obstacles. They were born in a country that ranks twenty-first worldwide in its infant mortality rate. Worse, that rate for black American babies exceeds the average rate in Western Europe, Cuba and at least twelve other countries. About 6 percent of the mothers of infants in the Class of 2000 received late prenatal care or none at all, and about three in ten received inadequate care. Though we know that prenatal care reduces the risk of premature birth, the laxity of it here meant that children in the class ran a 10 percent chance of being born before term, and thus may have a higher risk of future health problems.

Nearly 25 percent of the class reached the age of 2 without receiving adequate immunization against polio, measles, rubella, or

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LETTERS.

ON COLD WAR CAMELOT

Frederick, Md.

Andrew Kopkind's version of "J.F.K.'s Legacy" [Dec. 5, 1988] fails to recognize the drastic change in Kennedy's policies beginning with the 1962 missile crisis, and is wrong in its sneering reference to the 1963 American University speech, which states Kennedy's hope for those changed policies.

Such things as the first step toward détente, the limited test-ban agreement; canceling some military contracts, including the Blue Streak missiles for Britain; stating the new policy of refusing to recognize military dictatorships that overthrew democratically elected governments, as in the Dominican Republic; and ordering our withdrawal from Vietnam are hardly the policies of a "hard cold warrior from the start."

His little-remembered change in Vietnam policy was announced by the Pentagon shortly before he was assassinated and the reverted and expanded policy was announced by it shortly after his assassination. That he had called his generals in, one by one, and explained to them that Vietnam was a political problem and that political problems are not susceptible of military solutions was confirmed to me by one of those generals in 1967. The "brutal and self-defeating devastation of Vietnam" was begun by the Eisenhower-Dulles-Nixon Administration, was inherited by Kennedy and was made really bloody by Johnson and Nixon, *not* by Kennedy.

It is not reasonable to prate that Kennedy "never grasped the possibilities of Nikita Khrushchev's reforms" when it is a fact that these two leaders had an extensive exchange of still-secret communications, hardly on either part a hard cold war exchange.

It is the fiction of those who hated J.F.K. and those who were really responsible for the "plots of assassination" against Castro that this was Kennedy's policy. This is reflected in C.I.A. records disclosed to me. Does anyone really believe that once the Kennedy brothers were dead the C.I.A. would admit to undertaking those adventures on its own?

Harold Weisberg

KOPKIND REPLIES

New York City

I had forgotten the full force of John F. Kennedy's anti-Communism, as perhaps Harold Weisberg has, until reminded by the clips of the late President's speeches, pronouncements and press conferences that overran the TV networks on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his death. There was Kennedy Red-baiting the Eisenhower Administration for failing to recognize the Soviet threat; there he was promising to stop Communism wherever it appeared in the world; there he was rationalizing his beneficent programs such as the Alliance for Progress in starkly anti-Communist terms. If that wasn't hard cold war stuff, I don't know what is. It was certainly there "from the start" and, I now see more clearly, to the last.

Those who were charmed by the Kennedy rhetoric—the liberal passages written by Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Richard Goodwin—are inclined to misunderstand the nature of the Kennedy foreign policy. Kennedy's advisers, such as Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Dean Rusk and Maxwell Taylor, created the sophisticated "era of counterinsurgency" to replace the more simplistic Eisenhower-Dulles "era of massive retaliation." The Third World moved to the center ring of foreign policy activity. Truman (in 1945) and Eisenhower (after 1954) poked around in Vietnam, but their efforts were puny indeed compared with Kennedy's all-out intervention, which even by the time of his death was both "brutal and self-defeating," as those earlier efforts were not.

On many occasions Kennedy wished out loud that he could withdraw from what he saw was a deepening quagmire; there's no evidence he believed it was also a moral and ideological swamp. He planned to reduce his troops, as Lyndon Johnson did right up to the end, as soon as the "strategic hamlets" were undermined, the natives were pacified and the enemy was on the run. That was the time of hopeful prognoses and self-deluding strategies designed to produce "light at the end of the tunnel." To pull out of Vietnam, Kennedy would have had to order a radical reversal of policy in 1963 or early 1964, which of course he did not do. So the darkness persisted and the force reductions never came.

To listen to the rhetoric of Kennedy's wishful thinking and disregard the facts on the ground in Vietnam and elsewhere in the Third World is to miss the point of Kennedy's innovative brand of imperialism. It began, wherever possible, with pressure (violent as well as diplomatic) to remove nationalistic dictatorships and authoritarian regimes and replace them with reformist governments. New, modern, "charismatic leaders"—aping the Kennedy style and grateful to Washington for their installation—would attend to the welfare of their restless populations, open their economies to U.S. corporate investment and serve American strategic interests when the opportunity arose.

To aid the process of modernization and democratization, Kennedy sent Peace Corps volunteers into villages and barrios and offered Point Four aid, Food for Peace and Alliance for Progress assistance. The problem was that peaceful intervention didn't always work to counter insurgencies. Turn then to Plan B, and enter the Green Berets and the C.I.A., which was hyperactive all during the Kennedy Administration both with its own institutional forces and its "assets" in student, labor and cultural organizations.

The ideological rationale for intervention on the side of "democracy" and for development in the Third World was that authoritarianism provokes insurgency, and economic oligarchy "breeds Communism." Weisberg is right that Kennedy favored democratically elected governments over military dictatorships (shades of Ronald Reagan!), but the point wasn't democracy. Rather, it was dependence on the United States and inclusion in the U.S. satellite system. As Kennedy told Schlesinger (as cited by Noam Chomsky in *Towards a New Cold War*), the United States would always prefer a democratic government in the Third World, but if forced to choose between an allied Trujillo and an independent Castro, it would choose the former.

It's ridiculous to hold that John and Robert Kennedy were not aware of and not responsible for the multifarious attempts to terrorize, subvert and ultimately destroy revolutionary Cuba. In fact, the Administration launched a campaign of historic barbarism against Cuba, including the use of biological weapons (African swine flu virus against livestock) and chemical agents (against sugar cane). Robert Kennedy was in charge of the operation (see "The Kennedy Vendetta: Our Secret War in Cuba," by Taylor Branch and George Crile 3d, in *Harper's*, August 1975). Cuban fishermen were blown out of the water by U.S.-sponsored terrorists and civilian targets inside Cuba were hit, with many casualties (O, *contras*!).

As to Kennedy's relationship with Khrushchev, it was as far from détente as possible. During the missile crisis, Kennedy refused to accept the principle of mutual withdrawal of nuclear weapons from the border regions of the opposing superpowers. The hawks around him, including his brother Robert, told him to hang tough, to humiliate Khrushchev and to risk escalation. He listened to them and brought the world to the brink of nuclear apocalypse by going far beyond what any reasonable assessment of American security interests demanded. Khrushchev's fall from power two years later was directly attributable to Kennedy's actions. Instead of encouraging Khrushchev's plans for reform in the Soviet Union, he dashed them.

Kennedy indeed seemed shaken by the missile crisis, and he was doubtless ambivalent about Vietnam and other areas of intervention. He occasionally made wonderful speeches about the need for peace and international cooperation. He was a master of rhetoric. But as John Mitchell once pointed out, it is more instructive to watch what an Administration does, rather than what it says.

Andrew Kopkind

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Letters may be edited for reasons of space.

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EDITORIALS.

Democrat Brown

Ron Brown, all set to be named chair of the Democratic National Committee at its February 10 meeting, managed Jesse Jackson's campaign in its final days at the party's national convention in Atlanta. Like Jackson, he is black. But there the affinities and similarities end. Brown is a political insider, a smooth-talking lobbyist and a stylish exemplar of the black elite. Jackson remains a political challenger, a self-described "tree-shaker" and an organizer of populist movements. As the two most prominent blacks in national politics, they will pursue vastly different personal and professional agendas.

But Brown and Jackson are linked in a historic process of black political empowerment which reached an advanced stage in the year just past. Brown is a logical candidate for party chair, but his establishment credentials would never have landed him the job if the Jackson campaign had not gone as far as it did. It is no longer possible for racism to

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defeat logic. The stakes of party politics have changed.

Brown is a symbol of that change, and more. His election will make it possible, at last, for Democrats to deal honestly with the future of the party. At some point, Democratic leaders will have to face the realities of race (and class and gender) in America and stop pretending that blacks do not command a significant place in the party or deserve a commensurate share of power when it is distributed. Like other Democratic candidates since the 1960s, Michael Dukakis went through the campaign last fall trying to trick whites who had voted for John Kennedy into believing that the Democrats were not politically responsible for civil rights gains and that blacks had no "special interest" in the party's future. Dukakis's choice of Lloyd Bentsen as his running mate was the final confirmation of that historic denial.

The trick failed—and a good thing, too. Candidates to come may have no choice but to confront the issues Dukakis ducked. Lee Atwater, lately George Bush's campaign manager and now the new Republican National Committee chair, is reaching out to black voters, especially in the South. When Congressional districts are reapportioned in 1991, Atwater may try to carve out "black" districts in states that now have few or none—and in the same act create "white Republican" districts now held by white Democrats.

Democrats in the South and other regions rely heavily on black voters, but the state parties are predominantly white. As national party chair, Brown can begin to redress the gross racial imbalances. He can commit critical resources to voter registration, redirect the party's polling operation to reflect the concerns of an expanding base rather than the Congressional elite and bring people into leadership roles who will redefine the party in terms more in tune with the times. The party chair is not supposed to be a political militant. But the complex dynamic of Democratic renewal needs actors of all kinds, and the insider and the challenger may someday make a perfect pair.

Historic Moment

The meeting around a green table between representatives of Poland's ruling party and of Solidarity, scheduled for February 6, is a historic occasion. It marks a serious new attempt to include the opposition as an integral part of the political system in Eastern Europe. The sweeping reforms introduced in Gorbachev's Soviet Union and various countries under its influence, although forced by social tensions, have all been initiated—at least so far—from above. Poland, ever since its workers uprising of 1970, has been an exception to this rule. There the pace of events has largely been dictated by the posture of the working class. The movement from below reached its climax in the summer of 1980 with the birth of Solidarity and was driven underground in the winter of the following year by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's military coup. Thus, it has taken more than seven years of political stalemate and economic stagnation for the two sides to resume a dialogue.

The decision to do so was not reached easily. The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party last month was quite dramatic. At a secret session during the night of January 17, Jaruzelski had to resort to the threat of resignation (his own, his Prime Minister's and that of the two fellow generals in charge of defense and the police) to force the Central Committee to accept a resolution promising, among other things, "labor pluralism": the prompt legal recognition of Solidarity in the event of an agreement. Lech Walesa, so far, has met with less resistance to the idea of negotiations, but discontent among his followers is likely to grow should he pledge to keep what is suspected to be his part of the bargain—the preservation of "social peace" in the factories and the acceptance of some form of electoral alliance with the Communist Party within a "front of national reconciliation."

All these maneuvers are taking place against the background of rising economic discontent. An official report just published confirms that the per capita gross national product is still 13 percent lower than it was ten years ago and that inflation last year exceeded 60 percent, with worker incomes far outstripping the supply of consumer goods. The economic crisis at once renders the talks more difficult and makes them a necessity. The government needs popular support to give its reforms a chance. Solidarity fears a bloody explosion that it could not control. Even if both sides are thus driven toward a deal, the range of issues on which they must agree covers almost everything—the proposed cure for the crisis, the future shape of society and the political price to be paid by the government in exchange for economic concessions to the union. As they move closer to their "historic compromise," we are bound to see strains, breaks and even realignments on both sides.

At best, the round table is only the beginning of a long and complicated process. Nonetheless, the search for an understanding between ruling reformers and the movement from below is a momentous occasion for Eastern Europe.

DANIEL SINGER

Daniel Singer is The Nation*'s Europe correspondent.*

Non-Alien Speech

The right of noncitizens to speak freely in this country has always been precarious, resting more on political tides than on notions of constitutional protection. In 1988 these tides shifted twice, as Congress first gave and then took away nonnaturalized immigrants' free speech rights. But on January 26 a U.S. District Court judge in Los Angeles sought to put an end to the political swings, holding that all aliens living in the United States are constitutionally entitled to the same First Amendment rights as citizens and striking down several ideological deportation provisions of the 1952 McCarran-Walter Act. If the Supreme Court upholds the decision in *American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee v. Meese*, it will mark the first time that noncitizens will be truly free to speak their mind without threat of deportation.

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As a practical matter, the status of aliens' constitutional freedoms of speech and association have always been in doubt. In a 1945 decision overturning the deportation of Australian labor organizer Harry Bridges, the Supreme Court said that aliens living in the United States are entitled to the same First Amendment protection that citizens enjoy. More recently, the Court held that because the First Amendment is designed to protect the exchange of ideas, it protects speech regardless of the source.

However, for years the immigration laws have allowed ideological exclusion and deportation, and the Supreme Court has never held an immigration law unconstitutional, always deferring to the "plenary power" of Congress over our borders. Under the McCarran-Walter Act, if an alien advocates anything that the 1952 Congress defined as un-American, such as Communism, anarchy, the destruction of property or even polygamy, he or she is deportable.

Congress made its first tentative steps to repeal the McCarran-Walter Act last year. For a one-year trial period, Section 901 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act overrode much of McCarran-Walter, barring the deportation or exclusion of any alien on the basis of statements, beliefs or associations that would be protected if the person were a U.S. citizen. The law was far from perfect—it singled out members of the Palestine Liberation Organization for continued ideological exclusion and deportation—but for most noncitizens it was a substantial step forward.

In October, however, Congress backed off and limited Section 901's protection to "nonimmigrant aliens," or short-term visitors. Under this perverted logic, foreign visitors have the same speech rights as citizens, but those who choose to live here permanently must toe the McCarran-Walter Act's ideological line or be deported. In response to this change, the Reagan Administration in its final months resurrected its efforts to deport radical feminist author Margaret Randall for her "world Communist" poetry.

Now, at last, a Federal court has held that noncitizens need not rely on the good graces of Congress for the freedom to say what they feel and to associate with whom they like. In *American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee v. Meese*, seven Palestinians and a Kenyan challenged the government's attempt to deport them for allegedly associating with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a group the government has variously characterized as advocating the "doctrines of world Communism" and the "destruction of property," tracking the language of McCarran-Walter. Striking down those provisions, District Court Judge Stephen Wilson said that the government's position that aliens' speech rights are trumped by the plenary power of Congress over immigration matters would make "an empty mockery of human freedom." His decision is an important beginning to the end of ideological deportation. DAVID COLE

David Cole, an attorney with the Center for Constitutional Rights, is lead counsel, with Paul Hoffman of the A.C.L.U. of Southern California, in American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee v. Meese *and also represents Margaret Randall.*

Class of 2000

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

mumps, despite evidence showing that $1 spent on immunization saves $10 in later health care costs.

Fewer than one in five eligible children from the Class of 2000 were able to participate in Head Start, although this program has been shown to increase school success and improve eventual employability. It has been demonstrated that $1 invested in quality preschool education returns almost $5, because it lowers the cost of special education, public assistance and crime. Only half the class will receive compensatory education, yet indications are that an investment of $700 annually per child for such education can save the $4,000 cost of a repeated grade.

For an investment of $39,000, we can provide a child with prenatal care and preventive health services through age 18—as well as enrollment in Head Start, compensatory education, summer jobs during high school and four years of public college education. The same $39,000 will support an inmate in prison for seventeen months. (For most of these statistics, I am indebted to *A Vision of America's Future*, an admirable report just published by the Children's Defense Fund, 122 C Street N.W., Washington, DC 20001; (202) 628-8787.)

The choice we face is blindingly obvious, but most of our leaders in Washington refuse to make it, despite all the rhetoric about our cherished children. So it is up to parents and others who care about the crisis faced by children in the United States to move the Federal government to action.

As the critical first step, we should get the Treasury to issue Children's Bonds. Back in the 1940s, millions of Americans bought War Bonds at $18.75 and received $25 at maturity. Children saved their pennies to purchase these patriotic instruments, which were also considered a perfect birthday gift for them. We believed in a cause then—defeating the Axis powers—and eagerly bought bonds to help underwrite the mission. We should bring back the opportunity to demonstrate such a national commitment.

Cynics will say that it is easier to raise money for bombs bursting in air than for an abstraction like our children's future. But most Americans do believe in rescuing our kids and together would purchase millions of dollars in Children's Bonds if given the chance. Certainly they would buy them far more enthusiastically than the Defense Bond, that descendant of War Bonds that now helps fund unscrupulous military contractors and their cost overruns.

Children's Bonds would support programs—and only those programs—deemed worthy by Congress. As War Bonds did, they would provide a rallying point for citizens who now feel helpless in dealing with a problem that seems intractable. They would offer millions of people an opportunity they would find hard to refuse: a chance to focus their investment dollars on our collective future.

Dr. Frank Oski is chair of the Department of Pediatrics at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine and editor of the journal Contemporary Pediatrics.

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BEAT THE DEVIL.

Who's Burying Whom?

Either the Communists are right, in which case I am the loneliest man alive. Or they are wrong, in which case there is no hope for the world. —*Jean-Paul Sartre*

The word around town is that the war is over, socialism on the run and capitalism up there on the victor's plinth with a gold medal swinging from its neck while heavenly choirs chant paragraphs from Adam Smith, Von Mises and Milton Friedman.

Before me lies a heap of recent dispatches from the front. "Less than seventy-five years after it officially began," writes Robert Heilbroner in *The New Yorker* for January 23, "the contest between capitalism and socialism is over: capitalism has won. The Soviet Union, China, and Eastern Europe have given us the clearest possible proof that capitalism organizes the material affairs of humankind more satisfactorily than socialism. . . . the great question now seems how rapid will be the transformation of socialism into capitalism, and not the other way around."

In the December issue of *Commentary*, Jerry Z. Muller takes the same line: "The moral and political evaluation of this global movement toward capitalism has only begun. . . . capitalism . . . increasingly looks like the wave of the future." *The Economist*'s cover story for January 14 was "Can Communism Survive?" ("It was an idea that threatened to take the twentieth century by storm"). "The Coming Crack-Up of Communism," announced the *National Review* for January 27 ("but the West must beware"). In her syndicated column Jeane Kirkpatrick scents victory too ("nonetheless, the Soviet Union remains far more skillful than the United States and the West in political and psychological competition").

The most serious-looking of these victory celebrations, Heilbroner's essay, promised a good deal more than it delivered. It's as if some *New Yorker* editor made him write a strong lead in front of a routine essay almost devoid of analysis of socialism, either notional or actually existing, and marked with some truly astounding rubbish. I don't mind people announcing victory for their side, a harmless occupation, but it should be mandatory to devote some space to capitalism on the hoof—concrete analysis of the concrete situation, as Marx put it.

Heilbroner, for example, takes the view that here in the United States capitalists don't run the show. As he sees it, there is "verticality of wealth" and "horizontality of democracy." In this benign geometry the "polity bows to the general electorate" and "the vote of the millionaire counts for no more than that of the beggar." Now I suppose that the estimable New School professor could merely be exercising powers of observation honed on the streets of New York, where the wealthy are usually vertical and the beggar, equally puissant in democratic privilege, horizontal on the sidewalk. All the same, maybe he should head uptown and read that line about the millionaire and his vote to such citizens as he might encounter on 125th Street, asking them whether his perception squares with their own. Alternatively, he might care to go sit in the library of the Federal Election Commission and study campaign contributions, their effect on the polity and bearing on the question of influence wielded respectively by millionaire and pauper upon the state.

It's amazing how often one encounters people of sound reputation and widely advertised intellectual prowess who seem never to have opened a newspaper or garnered by any other means some inkling of how things actually work. Heilbroner's touching illusions about separation of business and political powers evokes one of J.K. Galbraith's observations in *Economics in Perspective.* Galbraith points out that many Japanese business leaders were Marxists in their youth and that though they have evidently forsworn any revolutionary vocation, "the Marxian influence does have a significant consequence: it relieves Japanese economic and political thought of the notion of a social dichotomy, even conflict, between the private market economy and the state, a theoretical conflict that has a strong hold on all conventional American and British economic thinking. In Japan the state is indeed, as Marx held, the executive committee of the capitalist class; this is normal and natural."

George Bush, who has probably never read a page of Marx or Lenin in his life, unless the C.I.A.'s library has their works in ten-page digest form, has a better grasp than Heilbroner of the role of the state as e.c. of the capitalist class. Witness his proposed solution to the savings and loan scandal (tax all depositors), and his proposed strategy of holding the line on the minimum wage and lowering the capital gains rate. This will hearten every millionaire depressed at having only as much input in the democratic process as an unwed mother on A.F.D.C., and give him the will to go on.

So the big question for "Beat the Devil" this year: If capitalism has "won," even pro tem, then what is the definition of victory, what sort of capitalism has done the winning, and how does it go about its business round the world? Stay with us.

Suffer the Little Chimps

I took my mother down Route 1 the other day, from Aptos to Los Angeles by way of the Monterey Bay Aquarium and Hearst's place above San Simeon. The aquarium, funded by the Packard millions and therefore a benign extrusion of the military-industrial complex, is very nicely done and free of the cutification of the natural kingdom that makes the San Diego Zoo so offensive. The signs near the panda cage in that frightful place ("Sex and the Single Panda") still make me tremble when I think about them.

Even so, an improperly instructed child gazing at the large central tank in the aquarium at the end of Cannery Row could nourish the sort of illusions that prompted those unfortunate little boys in Brooklyn to sneak into the polar bear pit at the Prospect Park Zoo to play with the furry white mammals. Round and round the Monterey tank glide a

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ALEXANDER COCKBURN

number of fish normally averse to being next to one another. A plump black sea bass nonchalantly nudged past a shark. The tank had the sedate comity of the U.N. General Assembly on a quiet day. But this calm is insured by the regular, generous administration of food, without which the tank would soon be the scene of internecine strife unpleasing to the onlookers (though not perhaps unsurprising, since your average onlooker is most likely a Social Darwinist by dint of ideological implantations from an early age).

Illusions about the sentiments of beasts recently claimed a rather surprising victim in the form of Jane Goodall, a familiar figure on PBS dandling chimpanzees. Not so long ago Goodall was visiting a chimp facility in Sterling Forest in New York State and encountered a specimen plainly uninformed about her friendly relations with its race. The chimp bit off the top of her thumb and ate it.

Such are the facts as privately reported by someone involved in the distressing incident. But Goodall is not keen to confirm publicly that her relations with *Pan troglodytes* are ever anything less than amicable.

The facility in question is the Laboratory for Experimental Medicine and Surgery in Primates (LEMSIP), part of the N.Y.U. Medical Center. It holds some 250 to 300 chimps for hepatitis and AIDS research. Such members of the staff as were invited by my colleague Rich McKerrow to discuss Goodall's visit exhibited marked nervousness and reluctance to do so. They preferred to talk about the superb amenities offered their charges—lovely environment, single-chimp accommodations plus family units, freedom from experimentation until age 2—and directed our attention to a *Newsweek* article detailing LEMSIP's provision of mirrors, toothbrushes, frozen Kool-Aid and other privileges not usually offered simian objects of scientific study.

The account initially proposed by LEMSIP's director, Dr. Jan Moor-Jankowski, is that he met Goodall leaving the lab, clutching a wounded thumb. He immediately asked if she had been bit by a chimpanzee; Goodall replied that she had slammed it in a car door. There was a car in the lab? Even LEMSIP's chimps don't have automobiles. The lab veterinarian, Dr. James Mahoney (whose healthy chimp, according to our private information, was the culprit), supports Jankowski's allocation of blame to the car door.

But why would Goodall be so reluctant to confirm that chimps can be unpredictable, understandably so in the case of LEMSIP, where chimp life is not all cakes and Kool-Aid? A conspiracy theory proposed by one of Goodall's associates and aired in last October's *Penthouse* is suggestive. It holds that the chimp-ate-her-thumb stories are being put about by a medical establishment frightened that Goodall's crusade for less confined chimp life in research labs will lead to endless trouble and expense. Hence the intent of the supposed rumor-mongering; unchain that chimp and mark what discord follows. By the same token Goodall might be eager to suppress evidence supporting, at a vulgar emotional level, the claims of her opponents. And anyway, it hardly does for a noted chimp fancier to carry such a wound.

Goodall is in Gambia, unreachable. At the Goodall Institute in Arizona her associate Dr. Judy Johnson confirmed that the top of one of Goodall's thumbs is missing down to the base of the nail and that the thumb's owner will address the issue in a forthcoming newsletter. She will report the swirl of rumors—that a chimp ate a bit of it, that it got mangled in a car door, that it happened in a New York taxi (driven by a chimp?). And how will she resolve the matter? Johnson says that Goodall will conclude by saying she wishes to "leave this a mystery," which is no help to little boys or girls who need straight talk about the natural kingdom.

Too bad Doc Mahoney's chimp can't talk. Otherwise he could go on PBS explaining that he saw Goodall as the liberal purser on the Chimp Titanic, thoughtfully laying out the deck chairs as their ship goes down. This *enragé* chimp would explain that, from the chimp perspective, more radical measures were needed, like wiping all chimp research labs off the face of the earth. These radical chimps are so predictable. No wonder they never get on *MacNeil/Lehrer*. "Tonight, Jim, Chimp Research. Should they be allowed to clean their teeth before they're murdered horribly?"

Monkey Business

If Doc's chimp is vetoed on grounds of radicalism, PBS might at least negotiate for some Soviet simian footage. A couple of years ago the world held its breath when a Soviet astrosimian got an arm free in its space capsule. There were printed accounts of the destruction to delicate electronic apparatus this liberated arm was wreaking, but no pictures were broadcast, even though there was a monitoring camera within the capsule. Actually the astrosimian was devoting itself to more or less continuous self-abuse, and Soviet broadcasting authorities apparently thought this would be taking *glasnost* too far.

Fire Sale?

The sorry state of *The New Republic* arouses natural emotions of pleasure and relief. The journal's editor in chief was recently in receipt of the following communication, on *Grand Street* stationery:

> Dear Mr Peretz,
>
> Do you wish to sell the *New Republic*? May I know your terms? I am one of a small group whose members are eager to buy the *New Republic* and restore its credit as a liberal journal. We suspect that you may be ready to sell from the vacancy and desperation of recent articles, which I at least associate with the moral and material bankruptcy of the state of Israel.
>
> I am the editor of this magazine, but none of my associates is in the magazine publishing business.
>
> Ben Sonnenberg

Peretz has told *Newsday* that *The New Republic* is not for sale, certainly not to the man Sonnenberg and his associates. The associates are believed to include a concert pianist, a club owner and a collector of classic cars.

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BELTWAY BANDITS.

DAVID CORN AND JEFFERSON MORLEY

■ Who Pays for the Party?

The day before Robert Mosbacher, chief fund-raiser for George Bush's 1988 campaign, breezed through his confirmation hearing as Commerce Secretary, the Republican National Committee released a list of its fattest cats, the individuals who gave $100,000 or more to the Bush cause. Mosbacher has dismissed suggestions that these individuals, referred to collectively as Team 100, have purchased any special influence. No self-respecting political fund-raiser talks openly about explicit or implicit quid pro quos. But Frederick Bush (no relation to George), who co-chaired two of the campaign's major fund-raising programs, was a bit more candid. At a conference held the day after the election and sponsored by the Citizens Research Foundation and philanthropist Stewart Mott, he confessed, "I think the motivation of the individuals giving the money is not all that healthy many times, having sat down with a lot of people." For a fund-raiser, that's going out on a limb. Bush wouldn't spill the details, but he did endorse limits that would put future Team 100s out of business: "I like the idea of nobody giving more than a couple thousand dollars. Nobody buys anything for that." Bush's comments make one wonder what's already been bought by G.O.P. bankrollers.

■ Manhattan on the Potomac

Why is Washington gaga over Georgette Mosbacher? She makes good copy. Owner of the La Prairie skin-care company, New York socialite and wife of Robert, Mosbacher has almost replaced the Silver Fox as de facto First Lady. *The Washington Post* welcomed her to town with a profile that thrice referred to her breasts (alerting readers to her "ample cleavage," "her nipple" and the fact that she "filled out her angora sweater") and twice pronounced her "sexy." It also quoted a friend who observed that Georgette and Robert had a "sexual marriage."

Washington's overexcited reception of Mosbacher is further evidence of the Manhattanization of the capital. For years high society here was dominated by government officials and their courtiers; during the Reagan era Washington joined the celebration of corporate culture. The change was symbolized and spurred on by the magazine *Regardie's*, which covers D.C. business and promotes the Trumpesque credo "Money, Power, Greed." Mosbacher, who boasts "I'm a conspicuous consumer," has all three.

■ What's Wrong With the Democrats (Part IX)

Not too long ago Democrats advertised themselves as soldiers fighting for issues that mattered. With the election decided, they returned to the comfort and camaraderie that befits the insider. When Mosbacher and James Baker 3d appeared before Democrat-controlled Senate committees that rubber-stamped their nominations, Senator Lloyd Bentsen, firebrand of the campaign trail, was by their side to introduce them warmly. Bentsen is not alone in such fraternizing. Following the election Robert Farmer, fund-raising whiz for Dukakis and soon-to-be treasurer of the Democratic Party, sat down with Craig Fuller, the chief of staff for Vice President Bush, to plan a joint political consulting firm. Even to some Democratic consultants long accustomed to the bipartisan civility that's good for business, this was going too far: the party treasurer in league with Fuller. Farmer saw nothing wrong with it. "Most professional firms normally have people on both sides of the aisle," he explained. The Farmer-Fuller talks ended when Fuller joined another bipartisan firm.

■ The Congressman From the Bahamas

Representative Bob Mrazek deserves a chutzpah award. In supporting the Congressional pay raise from an average of $89,500 to $135,000, this liberal Democrat insists that lawmakers simply cannot make ends meet with their current salaries. Here's part of the form letter he sends out to constituents who oppose the pay boost:

> My personal feelings on this issue are necessarily colored by economic reality. . . . maintaining a residence simultaneously in two areas where the cost of living is extremely high is an expensive proposition. While there is no requirement that a member of Congress establish a residence for his family in Washington, I have chosen to follow this course. Since I regularly work seven days a week to maintain my responsibilities both on Long Island and in Washington, our best chance to spend time together is in Washington.

Mrazek neglected to mention all the time he expects to spend with his family on Pierre's Island in the Bahamas. Along with seven other Democratic legislators, Mrazek is buying the former pirate's lair as a vacation retreat. Mrazek will own 25 percent of the $475,000 property.

■ The Myth of 'Drug Cartels'

There are no "drug cartels"—not in Colombia or anywhere else. The term, favored by careless members of Congress and slothful pundits, is economic and semantic nonsense. A cartel, according to the *American Heritage Dictionary*, is "a monopolistic combination of independent business organizations." What distinguishes a cartel is its ability to dominate a market, i.e. raise prices, through control of a given product. Indeed, the term "drug cartel" seems to have originated in the late 1970s, when OPEC, the oil cartel, was enforcing high oil prices. It expressed the feeling that once again Americans were getting jabbed by foreigners with highly desirable but overpriced goods. But the cocaine organizations of Colombia were not able to act like a cartel for long. The National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee reports that between 1982 and 1987 retail prices for cocaine dropped 32 percent; wholesale prices dropped 74 percent. Far from being dominated by a "monopolistic combination," the drug business is highly competitive. The plural term "drug cartels," a current favorite, is especially absurd, masking the fact that the drug business is a battlefield of self-interested, risk-taking, profit-seeking entrepreneurs. The proper term is "drug capitalists."

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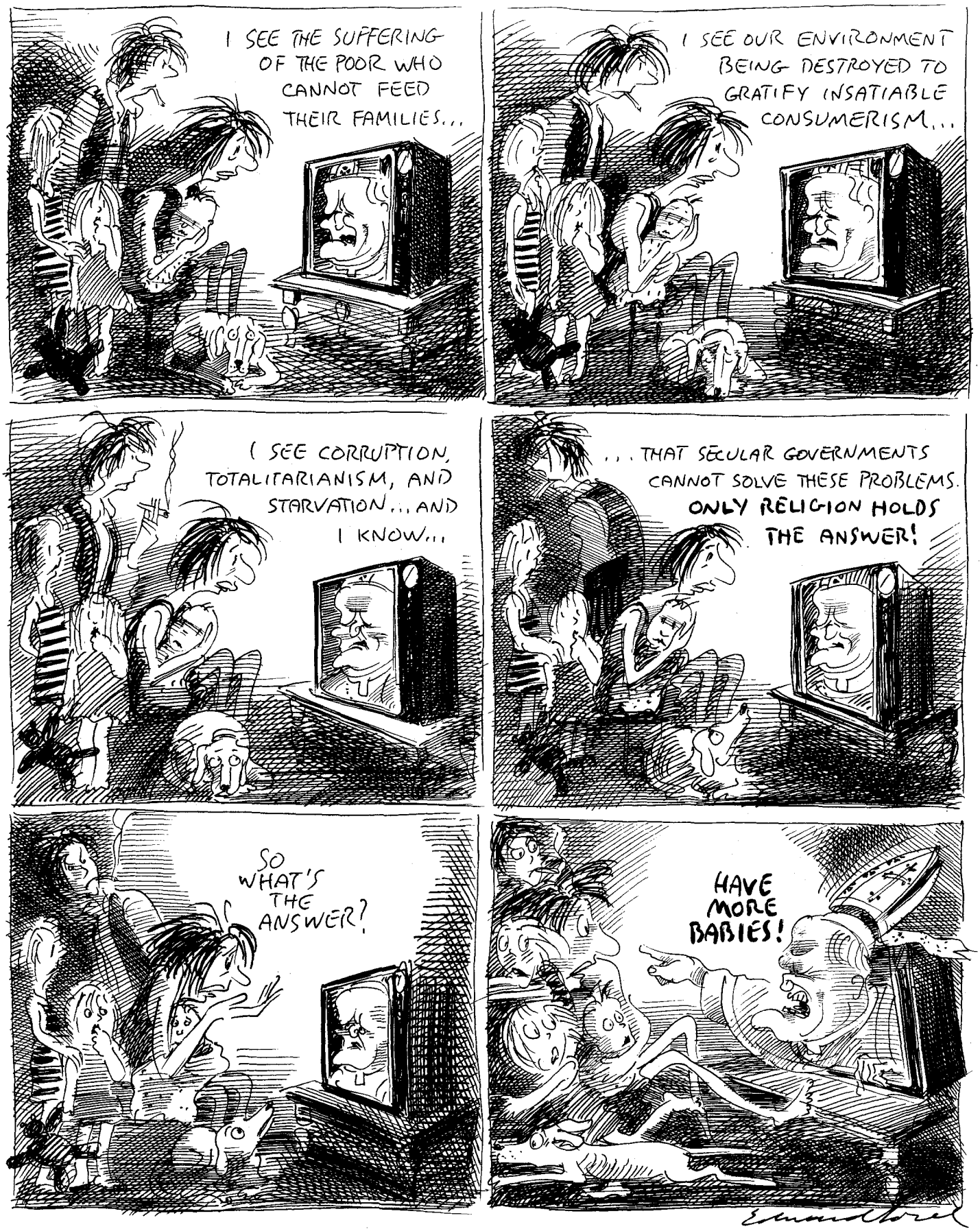
Faith, Pope and Clarity

EDWARD SOREL


I SEE THE SUFFERING OF THE POOR WHO CANNOT FEED THEIR FAMILIES...
I SEE OUR ENVIRONMENT BEING DESTROYED TO GRATIFY INSATIABLE CONSUMERISM...
I SEE CORRUPTION, TOTALITARIANISM, AND STARVATION... AND I KNOW...
...THAT SECULAR GOVERNMENTS CANNOT SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS. ONLY RELIGION HOLDS THE ANSWER!
SO WHAT'S THE ANSWER?
HAVE MORE BABIES!

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ARTICLES.

CAMBODIA'S FUTURE—I

Looking to the Private Sector

SUSAN BLAUSTEIN

Early in the morning in Phnom Penh City, along the banks of the Tonle Sap, men and women load bicycles, steaming cauldrons of stew, baskets of ginger, live monkeys and fresh hens tied to sticks aboard small ferries bound for the provinces. This traditional riverboat cargo has been expanded in the past six months to include a fair number of Japanese televisions, radio-cassette players and new lightweight bicycles. These luxury items, headed for outlying markets, have been brought in by Thai fishermen or by ships docking in Koh Kong province, where most of the goods imported from Thailand, Singapore and Japan enter the country.

There has been a noticeable increase in the flow of imported consumer goods since last June, when the National Assembly ratified a constitutional amendment legalizing international trade. Yet few Cambodians can afford to buy. Making ends meet in Phnom Penh is not easy. The estimated cost of living for a family of four is roughly $22.50 per month. But most government employees make only between $1 and $4 a month. They do get free government housing, such as it is. They also receive subsidies on rice, sugar, gasoline, clothing, milk, cigarettes and other basic goods, which many resell at up to a 10 percent profit. State employees are now permitted to open small businesses and rent out their entryways as storefronts.

Downtown along Moni Vong, now known as Acha Mean Street, small private businesses abound. Wheels, tires and pedals sprawl across the sidewalk as young men fix old bicycles at a small repair shop. Along the curb is a "pint-size" gas station: Three or four family-size Fanta and Coke bottles full of gasoline, one with a funnel in it, stand beside a woman seated on a stool. Beside her is a small rack of imported and domestic cigarettes, also for sale.

Since the ouster of Pol Pot ten years ago, the Vietnamese-backed People's Republic of Kampuchea (P.R.K.) government, led by Prime Minister Hun Sen, has had the task of rebuilding the nation's economy "from ground zero," as officials here like to say. The government's initial plan for reconstruction was modeled along the lines of Vietnam's own socialist economy. Despite the central planning of agriculture and industrial production, the government has come to believe in the value of private enterprise to the nation's recovery. "We began our *perestroika* in 1979, because we saw the importance of the private sector already," said Khieu Khannarit, editor of the weekly newspaper *Kampuchea* and a member of the National Assembly. He acknowledged, however, that the Soviet restructuring had an impact on economic planning in Cambodia. "Since Gorbachev came to power and the Soviet Union began to speak frankly about its mistakes in its economic policy, even the partisans of nationalization here agreed that we must give the private sector a bigger role." In 1985 small enterprises and cottage industries were legalized.

In the vital agricultural sector the state has been willing to use whatever means prove most effective, ideology notwithstanding. French agronomist François Grunewald explained the origins of this somewhat surprising open-mindedness. After Pol Pot "the government understood that they had to avoid pressing or pushing for collectivization," he said, "because farmers were so full of dreadful memories of the Khmer Rouge experience."

In its initial efforts to revive agricultural production, the P.R.K. set up small collectives called solidarity groups or *krom samaki*. In their most popular form these are mutual assistance arrangements in which ten to fifteen families share plows, tools and draft animals but farm separate plots of land on which they retain the after-tax yield. "It doesn't look like a socialist form of organization because after plowing and planting, each family cares for their own plot," explained Deputy Prime Minister and former Minister of Agriculture Kong Som Ol. "This is the traditional way Kampucheans used to work: All the neighbors come to help build my house and then, if one of them needs help, I go to help him."

The state also introduced two further incentives to encourage production. First, it collected no tax on agricultural products until 1984; second, it allowed some farmers to sell a large portion of their rice crop on the free market. State prices have always been subsidized to counter inflation and to "keep the middleman from riding the plow on the backs of the people," as Kong Som Ol put it. However, the increasing discrepancy between state and free-market prices eventually discouraged many farmers from selling to the state. Some simply stopped producing. This aggravated an already serious rice shortage and in 1987 forced the government to double its price.

Two years of bad weather and acute rice shortages in neighboring Vietnam triggered another rise in free-market prices this season. Fearful of the prospect of further shortages, the Cambodian government is desperate to increase its annual rice yield and expand the acreage of land available for cultivation. In one unusual use of incentives the Ministry of Agriculture recently suspended taxes and subsidized essential goods for anyone willing to try new higher-yield rice crops and to reclaim abandoned or previously uncultivated lands. Farmers are normally less than enthusiastic about these experimental grains, which they say require large quantities of expensive fertilizers and pesticides and don't taste very good. Also, much of the land to be reclaimed lies in areas vulnerable to enemy attack, or is littered with land

Susan Blaustein spent 1988 in Southeast Asia as a Guggenheim Fellow.

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mines. Nevertheless, with the offer of $2 a month, cigarettes, the use of a gun, a couple of water buffaloes and two sets of clothing a year, the government appears to have had some success in encouraging landless farmers to join in these "patriotic" efforts to restore agricultural self-sufficiency and augment the nation's food supply.

The P.R.K. has also boosted confidence in its economy by deciding to float its currency on the international money market. The discrepancy between official and black market rates of exchange has since decreased by more than 80 percent. Presently set at 142 riels to the dollar, the official rate of exchange is now only 10 percent lower than the black market rate. (In contrast, the official price of the plummeting Vietnamese dong is approximately 35 percent lower than the black market rate.)

The black market—which Hun Sen prefers to call "a free market"—is tolerated in part because low government salaries force people to find other sources of income. Also, the U.S. trade embargo imposed after the Vietnamese invasion in 1979, combined with a boycott by most Western and Southeast Asian countries, makes the black market the only way Cambodians can acquire much-sought foreign merchandise.

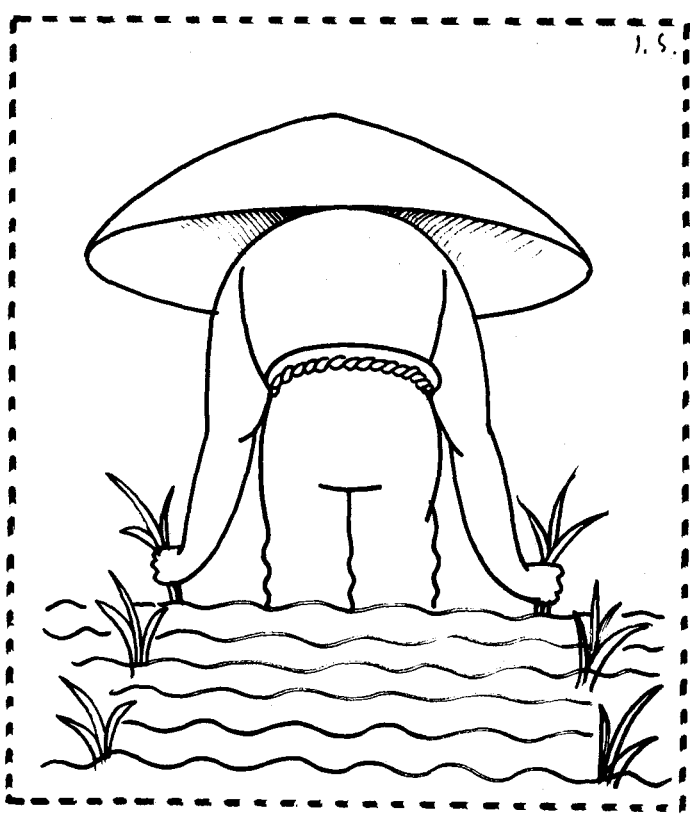
At one of the many small Phnom Penh shops that change dollars at black market rates, the shelves are stocked with Ovaltine, Soviet mineral water, French wines, Johnnie Walker Scotch and Stolichnaya vodka. In front is a counter loaded with warm 7-Ups, Heineken beer and imported cigarettes. The owner explained that he buys his merchandise at the state market, where prices are much lower than elsewhere. Asked how he manages to do this without being a government employee, the merchant answered discreetly, "For this we must establish good relations with the state officials." Although most officials cannot afford to buy these items, they may be coaxed into purchasing them on his behalf. He can then sell to other nongovernment employees, who, like himself, cannot shop at state stores but can afford these goods and would like to avoid the 100 percent import tax. The merchant explains that even after paying off officials he saves close to one-half of the free-market price on each case of Heineken. And the fresh stock of merchandise and steady flow of customers indicate that his marketing system, whether one calls it "black" or "free," seems to work.

The Cambodian economy has suffered from being almost totally isolated for the past fourteen years. Pol Pot cut off all relations with the West in 1975, and since the Vietnamese invasion there has been almost no bilateral aid from any Western nation, nor any trade. Having the Soviet bloc as its principal trading partner has not helped Cambodia much. Eighty percent of its rubber, for example, is committed to the Soviet Union at a price significantly below what it would command on the global market. Government officials claim that Cambodia is presently obligated to sell half its production to the Soviet Union, Vietnam and Eastern bloc countries in exchange for technical assistance, equipment and, most significantly, military aid.

The Soviet Union is spending as much as $3 million per day to support Vietnamese troops inside Cambodia in their war against the Chinese-backed Khmer Rouge and the two non-Communist resistance factions led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk and former Prime Minister Son Sann. Under pressure from the Soviet Union, its own ailing economy and international censure, Vietnam has now committed itself to a complete and unconditional troop withdrawal by the end of March 1990.

Although crucial to progress in the peace negotiations and to the eventual return of Western aid and investment, the Vietnamese pullout will hardly lighten the economic burden on the government. "Since we will have to pay more for defense," says senior Planning Ministry official Hul Lim, "that means we will have to decrease expenditures to rebuild the country."

Facing increased defense costs, not to mention the still monumental tasks of rebuilding agriculture, industry and public works, the Cambodian government is desperate for foreign capital. It has just implemented a liberal investment code designed to encourage foreign companies and overseas Khmers to do business in Cambodia, either in joint ventures with local firms or by establishing their own subsidiaries. The glimmer of peace, together with rumors of impending overseas investment, have created a climate of modest economic optimism, at least in Phnom Penh. A few private construction firms have started to rebuild villas in the expectation that foreign embassies and investors will soon return. There has been some Japanese investment in the timber industry, which may eventually bring in much-needed Japanese equipment and spare parts in exchange for lumber at a fixed price. And everyone in town points proudly to the resumed work on the Motel Cambodiana, a prominent hotel just across from the Royal Palace whose construction was interrupted when Sihanouk was overthrown. In fact, this



DRAWINGS BY ISADORE SELTZER

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much-touted joint venture between the government and a wealthy expatriate Khmer is the only example of individual foreign funding that government officials ever cite. Otherwise, overseas businessmen have not jumped to invest in a nation still blighted by war and of uncertain economic prospects.

The recent flicker of economic activity cannot obscure the still glaring ills of Phnom Penh City. Residential buildings are dangerously overcrowded and squatters are everywhere; the sewage and sanitation systems, waterworks, schools and hospitals are in chronic need of repair; and there are still serious shortages, both of the funding and the trained personnel necessary to remedy these problems. One visiting Cambodian now living overseas expressed alarm at the economic impasse. He commented: "With no vocational education, proper equipment or social services, their ability to make progress is really very limited. And then their hands are tied with the war: They really can't do much."

Government spokesmen from the Ministries of Health, Agriculture, Economic Planning and Trade leave no doubt that as long as the war continues the prospects for economic recovery are remote indeed. And despite the significant diplomatic steps taken by Cambodia's internal factions and their foreign backers in the past eight months, an end to the ten-year-old war is not yet in sight. Reflecting on the future, Sok Ann, a Deputy Foreign Minister, grew stoical. "Our economy now is relatively stable, but as for our defense expenditures, this was not our choice. It is history that is imposed upon us, so we have to accept it."

Sok Ann may be correct that the difficulties facing the regime are not of its own making. But the future of the present government may be more in its own hands than its officials would like to acknowledge. Once the Vietnamese have left it will be up to them to demonstrate that the P.R.K. is not the "puppet regime" that both China and the West accuse it of being. If it expects a restoration of foreign aid and investment, the government will have to guarantee peace without recalling Vietnamese troops and advisers. It will have to follow through on its promises to keep the Khmer Rouge in check, insure free elections, rebuild an adequate food supply and rehabilitate the still-convalescent economy.

That is a tall order. And while the government strives to fulfill it, others—the Khmer Rouge and the Chinese, the Vietnamese and the Russians, Sihanouk and his Western backers—will all be playing their own self-interested roles. But the first burden of proof will be on Hun Sen and his colleagues to demonstrate that, for the first time in eighteen years, Cambodians can eat and work and live in peace. □

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CAMBODIA'S FUTURE—II

The Specter of The Khmer Rouge

MARY KAY MAGISTAD

Bangkok

Have the Khmer Rouge changed? In power, they declared a return to "year zero," emptied Cambodia's cities and set about purging the country of all "corrupting" modern influence. With Pol Pot as overlord, they forged a tightly disciplined social order; individuals were caught in a web of constant coercion and fear. The Khmer Rouge slaughtered "counterrevolutionary" intellectuals, city dwellers and civil servants, virtually wiping out a whole generation of Cambodian education and expertise. An estimated 1 million died.

With Chinese aid and U.N. recognition—first alone, and since 1982 as the dominant member of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea—the Khmer Rouge regrouped. From a confused band of stragglers driven into the malarial jungle by Vietnamese troops in 1979, they have become a highly organized, well-armed force numbering as many as 40,000. Coalition politics shift with dizzying frequency. In Bangkok in October, a spokesman for Prince Norodom Sihanouk accused the Khmer Rouge of attacking Sihanoukist forces more than two dozen times since May. Yet a mid-December news agency photograph showed Sihanouk and Khmer Rouge president Khieu Samphan grinning broadly and clasping hands like long-lost brothers.

Leaders like Khieu Samphan insist that this is a different Khmer Rouge. They say they now support private enterprise and want a multiparty democracy in a postwar Cambodia. For good measure, they stress that Pol Pot no longer plays an active role. But the non-Communist resistance factions, as well as the government in Phnom Penh, are convinced that Pol Pot is still very much on the scene and that Khieu Samphan is only a front-man—actually number seven or eight in the hierarchy. They say the senior leadership remains much as before. If this is true, it echoes the Khmer Rouge strategy of the early 1970s, when the true leadership and goals were obscured to throw would-be opponents off the track.

Refugees who have escaped from camps controlled by the Khmer Rouge on the Thai-Cambodian border say that Khmer Rouge leaders have told them the Sihanoukists and Son Sann's small K.P.N.L.F., the third member of the coalition, are as much the enemy as the Vietnamese-backed gov-

Mary Kay Magistad is a Bangkok-based freelance journalist.

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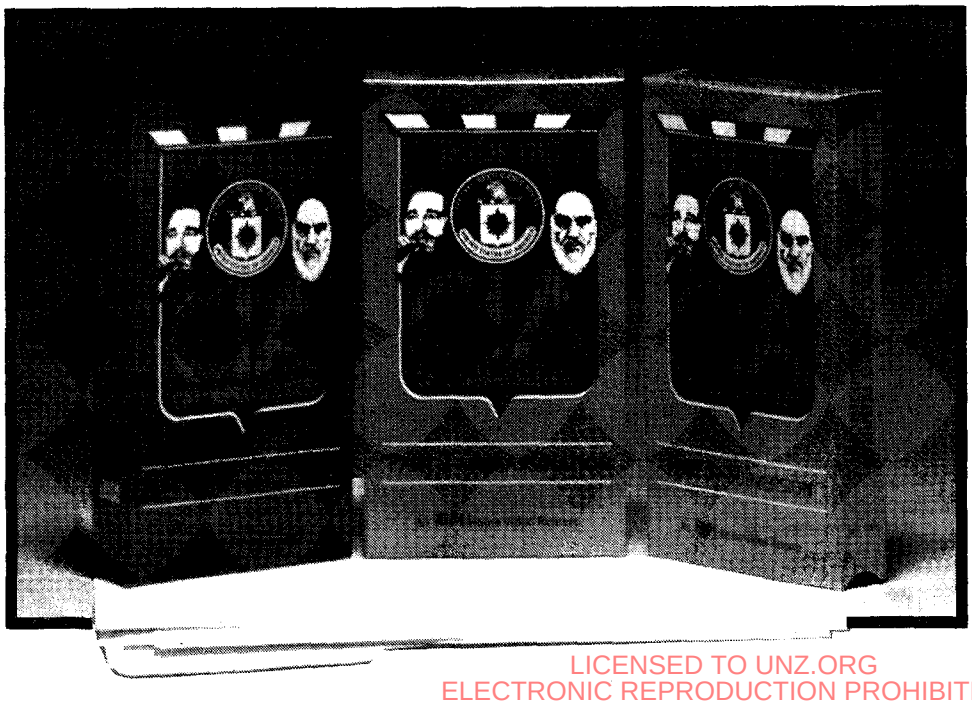

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ernment in Phnom Penh. One Khmer Rouge defector, now in the Sihanouk-run camp known as Site B, says that an indoctrination class he attended last May was led by none other than Ta Mok, remembered by survivors of the killing fields as "the Butcher of Kampuchea." Ta Mok, who is believed to be the Khmer Rouge's second- or third-ranking leader, told soldiers that "only the Khmer Rouge do what is best for the Cambodian people." He said they "have the most guns and soldiers, and fight the most, and so will take power once the Vietnamese leave." If the other factions continue to exist at all, he said, they would operate under the Khmer Rouge.

That aim is thoroughly concealed in the peace plan announced by the Khmer Rouge last August. In it, they virtually beg the international community to prevent them from taking power alone. The plan calls instead for "a provisional quadripartite government" under Sihanouk, "confining to barracks all the armed forces of the four Kampuchean parties." Even as the proposal was released, however, U.S. military intelligence sources were estimating that Khmer Rouge cadre had stockpiled at least two years' worth of Chinese-supplied weapons within Cambodia. Reports from the Thai border told of children and pregnant women being forced to carry ammunition and other supplies through mine-laden mountains to Khmer Rouge troops in Cambodia.

Refugees say that in most Khmer Rouge camps, every able-bodied refugee is expected to contribute to the war effort. It is dangerous work: On almost every trip into Cambodia, refugees say, at least one or two people lose a leg or are killed by mines or Vietnamese fire. Refusal to act as a porter endangers access to food and medicine or can land a person in jail. "Disappearances" from the camps are not uncommon. "You won't hear of Khmer Rouge mass murders or even widespread torture like before," said one aid official. "But people disappear during the night, often with their whole families, and that's it. You never see them again. Are they killed? Are they just moved to another camp, out of our reach? We don't know."

About a fifth of the roughly 300,000 Cambodian refugees in the border camps are under Khmer Rouge control in four accessible locations: the showcase Site 8, which is open to foreigners, and the more austere Ta Luan and Borai. (A fourth camp, O'Trao, was also open to the United Nations until it was closed after a mysterious fire in the camp hospital in December.) But aid officials believe at least another 40,000 to 50,000 are trapped in Khmer Rouge camps closed off from international monitors. And the Khmer Rouge appear to be trying to boost the number of people under their control by infiltrating Cambodian villages and forcing residents to accompany them to the border area. Chea Cho, a 55-year-old farmer from Kampong Chhnang province, said the Khmer Rouge forced at least 100 people at gunpoint from his village to a remote southern border camp last year. Another refugee described the closed southern camps as being "exactly the same as during Pol Pot's time. You couldn't make any mention of the good old times or old customs, and you couldn't complain about fighting and portering." According to another escapee, the Khmer Rouge told camp inmates they would soon be moved back into Cambodia to be "the vanguard of the new revolution."

Starting last June, some 8,000 of the 9,500 refugees in the southern border camp of Ta Luan were ordered to tear down their houses and take the bamboo and thatch with them, on Chinese-supplied trucks, to camps out of aid agency reach. Between August and November, cadres moved as many as another 9,000 out of the northern camp of O'Trao.

How do these population movements fit into a larger strategy? "The Khmer Rouge are acting now like they accept the fact that they're being diplomatically excluded," said a Western diplomat familiar with the border. "We know that they are trying to bring their population into Cambodia to start a new war—this is clear from the stories of the escapees. But they seem to be in more of a hurry now."

Few believe that the Khmer Rouge are strong enough to seize power immediately. The Phnom Penh government is fast building up its own militia, and although it doesn't accept the idea, Cambodia's neighbors, the other resistance factions and even China have agreed that an international peacekeeping force should step in once the Vietnamese have withdrawn. The current government does admit that it lacks effective control over the northern countryside, where Khmer Rouge troops move freely. In those areas, the cadre have conducted a "hearts and minds" campaign that includes paying higher prices for crops than farmers can get from the government. The government has recently started to raise its own prices, trying to limit the effect of the Khmer Rouge campaign, which might pay off in votes should the long-

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discussed free and fair election ever be held in Cambodia.

Hun Sen, the current Prime Minister, doubts the wisdom of giving the Khmer Rouge even a chance to win such a vote. "The demand of allowing the Khmer Rouge to have a political and military role in order to have a balanced solution or equality among parties is not a solution that will bring peace," he told a December press conference in Phnom Penh. "On the contrary, this is a preparation for triggering an explosion of a new civil war that no one can limit or control." □

THE VAGARIES OF VIGUERIE

Reactionaries' Reaction

ALAN PELL CRAWFORD

Next time the grinning countenance of New Right fund-raiser Richard Viguerie shows up on your television screen, consider this: Some right-wingers feel just as disgusted as you do whenever they have to look at him. For one thing, they know that while Viguerie may once have been a bona fide spokesman for right-of-center causes, the one claim to authority he once enjoyed—his direct-mail fund-raising business—is a shambles. They know, too, that as a result he now exercises almost no influence whatever in conservative circles, despite what his appearances on television talk-shows and newspaper Op-Ed pages may lead one to believe.

Shy but driven, Viguerie for years has been viewed by many others on the right as a greedy parvenu, more motivated by an itch for power than by any real commitment to conservative ideals. As such, he has created discontent within the ranks, and after a decade of financial and political successes he is now embroiled in a series of acrimonious lawsuits—some filed against him by old friends and former clients, as well as by contractors and subcontractors—that have resulted in millions of dollars in judgments against him and raised questions about his business practices.

Viguerie is suing too. Since September he has filed against at least three other New Right groups and won a judgment of $646,000 against a former client, Leadership Action Inc., which a month later went bankrupt. Viguerie is also suing his longtime New Right crony Paul Weyrich, charging that Weyrich's Free Congress Political Action Committee owes his firm almost $150,000 for fund-raising services going back eight years. Weyrich's group claims it has already paid Viguerie $550,000 and doesn't owe him another cent. Among other issues the court will have to determine is whether Weyrich, as president of the Free Congress PAC,

Alan Pell Crawford is the author of Thunder on the Right: The "New Right" and the Politics of Resentment *(Pantheon). He first wrote about Richard Viguerie in* The Nation *of January 29, 1977.*

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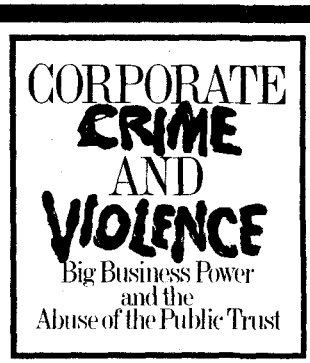

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The Nation,
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is personally liable for the money. Viguerie claims his old friend is.

As early as 1985, Viguerie's direct-mail company was embroiled in prolonged disputes with other right-wing groups over fund-raising costs, the use of mailing lists, or both. One of these groups was the then-powerful National Conservative Political Action Committee, which once withheld $3.2 million of Viguerie's fees. During the same period, Ruff-PAC, the political arm of television investment guru Howard Ruff, refused to pay $531,000 to the fund-raiser, claiming that thousands of Viguerie mailings had been shredded and found in a Chicago dump.

Vendors of various services, from printing firms to computer companies, are now standing in line to get money from Viguerie. In Fairfax County, Virginia, where his company is based, twenty-six firms have filed suit against Viguerie, one of which, Smith Lithograph, was awarded a judgment of almost $800,000. Two area banks also won judgments, totalling more than $2 million, after Viguerie failed to make payments on loans that had enabled him to invest in two ShowBiz Pizza parlors—which went bust.

In the fall of 1985, Viguerie began cutting his losses, selling his glossy magazine *Conservative Digest*, which had been an exercise in egomania; he'd launched it after the owners of *Human Events* refused to sell the conservative weekly to him. In the decade that Viguerie published his magazine, in which he wrote a column and touted his clients, it lost $4 million. Viguerie also has sold his McLean, Virginia, house—which he once claimed was his only asset—for $830,000. And last April he sold the vacant lot next to it for another $370,000.

Probably his most significant move, financially as well as politically, was the sale in October 1987 of his 105,000 square foot suburban Virginia office building for more than $10 million. The new owner is the U.S. Property Development Corporation, an arm of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, the power behind the right-wing *Washington Times*.

Many of the stands Viguerie has taken through the years seem baffling in political terms, but viewed in commercial ones they make perfect sense. Whenever he denounced a major G.O.P. politico for abandoning cherished right-wing principles, the real crime was usually refusing to sign a contract with Viguerie. When Richard Nixon wouldn't initial one in 1972, Viguerie bankrolled Ohio Representative John Ashbrook's anti-Nixon challenge; when Reagan wouldn't hire his services in 1976, the fund-raiser backed John Connally and then Illinois Representative Philip Crane in the presidential primaries of 1980, citing those clients' superior ability to articulate the conservative cause.

After Viguerie repudiated Reagan in 1976 he offered his mailing lists to the American Independent Party—in an unrequited bid for its vice-presidential nomination. Four years ago, when his own business problems were mounting, he squandered hundreds of thousands of his company's dollars on a vainglorious (and unsuccessful) attempt to get himself nominated as the G.O.P.'s candidate for lieutenant governor of Virginia. His company contributed more than $487,000 in services to the campaign and another $201,000 in loans. Such antics have irked his coreligionists.

There were days, of course, when almost all the right-wingers wanted to be Viguerie's friend. Having pioneered the business of raising large amounts of money through millions of small contributions, the native Texan emerged in the mid-1970s as a combination investment banker, kingmaker and *éminence grise* of the New Right, helping launch and guide dozens of campaign committees, think tanks and lobbies. Working for clients like George Wallace, Moon, the National Rifle Association and Citizens for Decent Literature, Viguerie put together lists of the names and addresses of millions of conservatives.

A wiry, balding fellow, the 55-year-old Viguerie has never been particularly flashy himself. In flusher times, however, he was often ostentatious in thanking his workers. He used to treat specially favored staff members to annual Richard A. Viguerie Golf Tournaments in Scotland. His Fourth of July parties, thrown open to a larger conservative public, were once held at his Virginia home but were later moved to the more spacious grounds of the Sully Plantation.

David Keene of Keene, Shirley & Associates, a conservative consulting firm that helped run Senator Robert Dole's unsuccessful bid for the presidential nomination, says Viguerie was so skillful at building the conservative movement that by the mid-1980s "so many groups were doing so much mailing to the same lists, the lists began to get pretty worn out. Richard invented modern direct mail, then two things happened. First, the technology changed. Richard had a heavy investment in computers, and while he was still paying for it all, it had already become obsolete. You can now buy at Radio Shack what he had paid millions for and is still paying for."

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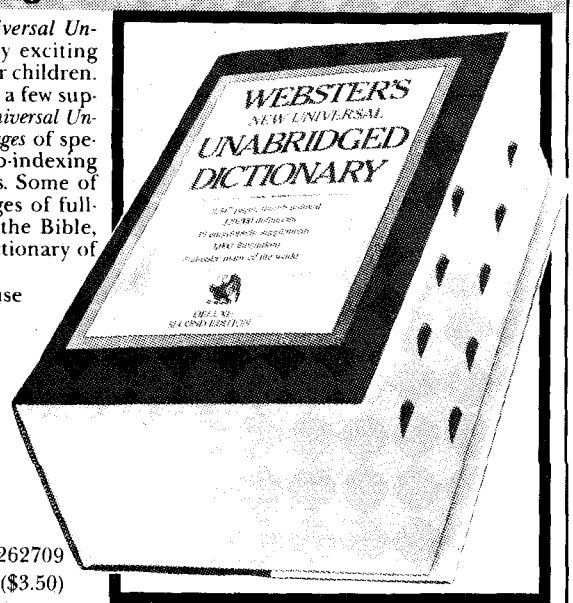

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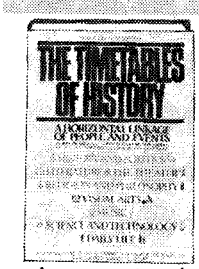

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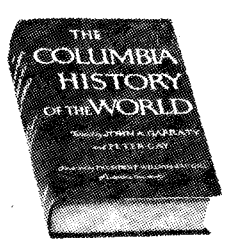

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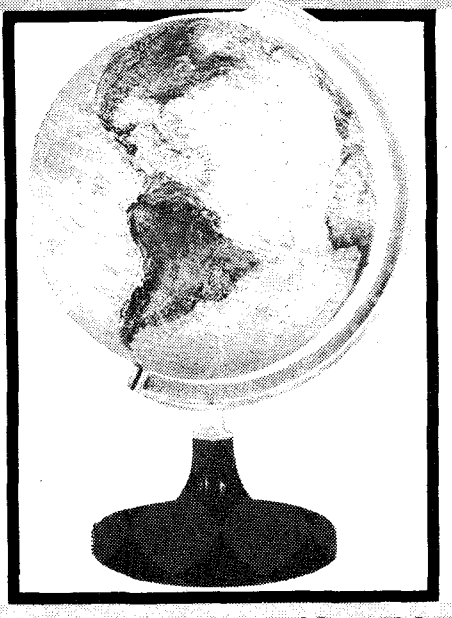

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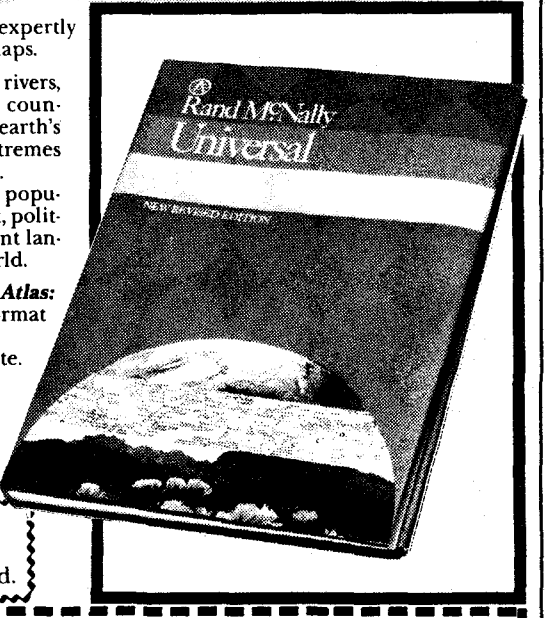

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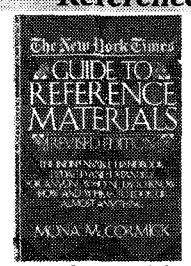

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"Second, he was so successful that his operation was growing too fast. He trained a lot of people who learned the business and then left to start their own companies—companies which could do the same thing he did for less. Pretty soon, he was forced to practically drag people off the street to work for him. Finally, when your organization gets to be as big as Richard's was, you've got to feed the operation itself, so you are forced to send mailings even when that is not advisable. You can't afford to cut back just because the response is down, which has been one source of some of the bad feelings between him and his clients, obviously."

Of late, Viguerie has been trying to clamber aboard the Republican bandwagon. There is no little irony here, considering that he has spent the past fifteen years trying to convince other Americans to jump off. "I understand marketing," he said in 1975, "and I don't believe that in my lifetime you will ever be able successfully to market the word 'Republican.' You could as easily sell 'Edsel' or 'Typhoid Mary.'" He predicted that "in ten years there won't be a dozen people in the country calling themselves Republicans." So convinced was he of that forecast, in fact, that throughout the 1970s he kept trying to form a new party, flirting with, among others, the far-right American Independent Party. Such efforts never prevented him from profiting from Republican causes, of course. While he was agitating for a new party he made millions raising money for G.O.P. candidates.

It is also ironic that the conservative victories of the 1980s—Reagan landslides that made a mockery of the New Right notion of a "new majority" coalition shattering existing party allegiances—have done serious damage to Viguerie's political fortunes as well as to his pocketbook. Eight years of Republican rule have put a significant dent in right-wing direct mail efforts, with Viguerie, the big boy on the block, the big loser. His appeals have been based, for the most part, on scaring money out of his Middle American targets, and it hasn't been easy convincing them in recent years that the country was threatened by the Evil Empire, not as long as the Gipper was in charge.

What is odd, given Viguerie's dwindling political importance, is that the mainstream press persists in treating him as a major spokesman for the conservative cause. During last year's presidential campaign, for example, *The New York Times* printed an Op-Ed essay by Viguerie, identifying him as "publisher of the Conservative Digest," a position he hasn't held since 1985. And two days before the recent inauguration, *The Washington Post*'s Style Section was moved to ask Viguerie ("the direct-mail advocate for conservative Republican causes") his views on the new Administration. "The real winner in the 1988 election," he declared, "is the Washington establishment."

Which, of course, makes Viguerie one of the losers. Financially that may be a new experience for him; but politically he's been an outsider all his life. It is precisely that sense of alienation from the Washington establishment that defines Viguerie's politics, as well as those of the reactionary movement he did so much to shape. And the movement shows every indication that it can sputter along without him. □

THE EMBASSY QUANDARY

Bugs, Beans and Too Many Bucks

DAVID CORN

Is America about to risk loss of precious soybean secrets to the Russians? That's the alarming prospect raised by the recent offer made by a group of American businesses to buy the unfinished U.S. Embassy building in Moscow. Led by corporate chieftain Dwayne Andreas, who co-chairs a U.S.-Soviet trade council and heads the Archer-Daniels-Midland farm products conglomerate, the U.S. firms want to turn the embassy, which is allegedly infested with electronic bugs, into offices for A.D.M., RJR-Nabisco, Ford and other corporations seeking gold in the steppes.

Good office space in downtown Moscow is hard to come by, and the *perestroika*-induced rise in U.S.-Soviet trade has increased the demand for corporate suites in Communism's capital. But although a price has not yet been mentioned, the Andreas deal is a bad one for U.S. taxpayers. If it goes through, they will have to pick up the hefty tab for a new embassy, which the Andreas bid suggests is not needed.

In April 1987 the Reagan Administration confirmed press reports that somehow the embassy building had been compromised by Soviet listening devices. There was an uproar. Members of Congress inspected the site in Moscow and decried the situation on network news. Studies were commissioned. Lawmakers and pundits noted with alarm that the wily Russians not only had infiltrated the embassy but had required that it be built in a low-lying area, while they had received permission to build *their* new embassy in Washington on a strategically located hill ideal for electronic snooping. In fact, the State Department in the 1960s had pressed the Russians to accept the site in the Mt. Alto area of the capital. Through all the fuss, details of the electronic eavesdropping have never been made public.

Whatever the extent of the bugging, the embassy problem is now on President George Bush's desk. He has inherited a plan left behind by former Secretary of State George Shultz, who last fall endorsed a proposal to raze the aborted structure and start from scratch, an idea backed by Ronald Reagan. The cost estimates of Shultz's scheme currently run as high as $500 million, which would cover the expense of making the building's main structural elements in the United States and shipping them to Moscow. Reagan and Shultz assumed that the chancery could not be salvaged. But the Andreas bid shows otherwise. If A.D.M. and other big-league corporations believe the contaminated embassy, once completed, could be used to conduct their business, which no doubt would involve trade secrets and otherwise sensitive information, then the building certainly can house non-classified government activities.

After Reagan announced his support for the Shultz plan,

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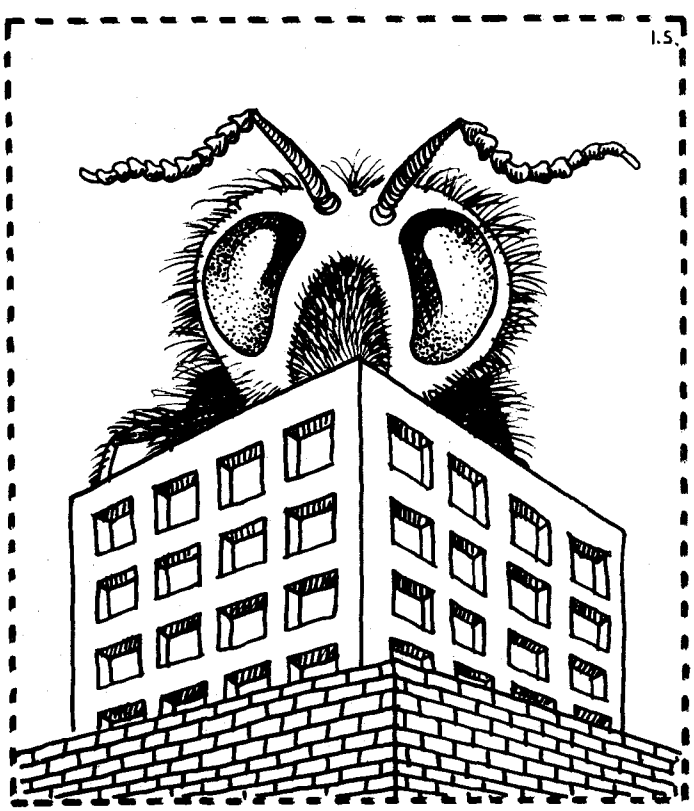
a few members of Congress questioned the Secretary's recommendation. Shultz's critics, including a few Foreign Service officers, thought he had gone overboard. "It's widely known Shultz was deeply affected by the [death of the] U.S. Marines in Beirut and the Moscow spy scandal," says one Democratic House staff member involved in the embassy issue. "He became single-mindedly obsessed with terrorism and security."

The critics wonder whether an unrealistic level of security is being sought. A report by a Congressional delegation that visited the building in 1987 set a high standard, stating that the embassy had to be "fully secured" and that Soviet eavesdropping equipment had to be "fully neutralized." That may sound reasonable. But former U.S. Ambassador Arthur Hartman, who served in Moscow under Reagan, questions whether it is feasible to make an entire embassy secure. The U.S. mission, he asserts, does need more than its present space for classified work, but not necessarily a whole building.

Other alumni of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow point out that no such building is ever fully secure. "The question is, Will we do ourselves a disservice by building something we think is secure?" says Mark Garrison, who was Deputy Ambassador in Moscow during the Carter Administration. Garrison explains that embassy employees are better off assuming, as he and his staff did, that with the exception of certain very small, confined areas reserved for classified work no part of an embassy is immune from spying.

A former Foreign Service officer recently stationed in Moscow seconds Garrison's sentiments. He doubts the new embassy can be made fully secure. Even in Shultz's dream embassy, he says, the staff should handle classified matters only within small "bubbles" of high security protection. So if workers in a "fully secured" embassy of the future have to act as if the building is porous anyway, why spend millions of extra dollars to create an illusion?



The study released by the hard-line Congressional delegation that went to Moscow in 1987 noted that the uncompleted embassy could be finished and used for nonclassified activities—administrative functions, consular duties, the work of the U.S. Information Agency—and a relatively inexpensive, smaller separate facility could be constructed for classified operations. This option fails to meet the delegation's own standard of a "fully secured" embassy, but nonetheless some members of Congress are considering it along with other, less sweeping solutions. One possibility is to create secure pockets within the bugged embassy.

Readying themselves for the likely debate, a few in Congress have fretted publicly about the extravagance of the Shultz plan. Representative Neal Smith, chair of the appropriations subcommittee that covers the State Department, told *Congressional Quarterly*, "Any decisions that are made are going to depend a lot on the dollars we have." Senator Claiborne Pell, chair of the Foreign Relations Committee, warns that any embassy plan will be weighed "in view of the many other budget requirements for our foreign policy."

Opponents of the Shultz plan may have economics on their side, but they are likely to face obstacles indigenous to debates on national security issues—especially since one force behind the plan is the intelligence community, which makes good use of the Moscow facility. Reportedly, the Central Intelligence Agency pressured Reagan to endorse the start-from-scratch alternative. One Senate aide maintains that while a number of career State Department officials are upset that so much of the department's money might be spent on a new embassy, "there's a careful silence. No one wants to be against security or intelligence."

In short, the spooks want a building that is hermetically sealed. But even if the United States tries to achieve that goal, possibly spending up to $500 million, it cannot guarantee success. Soviet intelligence could target the companies making the embassy components, the security personnel guarding those components, the holding areas in Western Europe and Moscow where the prefab parts would be stored, the American workers imported to the construction site, and so on. It's quite possible that by ambitiously trying to make secure such a large project, the State Department will create greater opportunities for espionage.

The Andreas tender doesn't make the Shultz plan any more palatable. True, it would reduce the total cost of a new embassy: The U.S. government would recoup some of the estimated $30 million it has spent on the uncompleted building and would avoid demolition costs. But if the Bush Administration accepts the Andreas deal—and that would require Soviet permission—the United States would have to spring for a brand new building that, given the probability of cost overruns, might even exceed current estimates.

Let the U.S. entrepreneurs find their own digs—perhaps they could enlist Donald Trump in their search. The State Department should hold on to its prime piece of property and resist playing the Moscow real estate market. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Beginning With Voting

ALEX WILLINGHAM

WHY AMERICANS DON'T VOTE. *By Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward. Pantheon. 325 pp. $19.95.*

WHOSE VOTES COUNT: Affirmative Action and Minority Voting Rights. *By Abigail M. Thernstrom. Harvard University Press. 316 pp. $25.*

Nineteen eighty-eight was a sobering year for voter registration activists. The death on June 15 of Willie Velasquez, founder of the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project, removed an effective voice for voter participation among American minorities. Contrary to the expectations of voting rights activists, Republicans benefited more than Democrats from voter registration increases during 1988. In November a smaller percentage of Americans voted than in any national election since the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. These events—as symbol and as hard fact—tell a discouraging story.

How have we come to this? What is to be done? Two recent books attempt to answer these questions. They are part of a rapidly growing literature about popular electoral participation in the wake of the defeat of disenfranchisement in the South, the rise of minority elected officials and the appeal of conservatism among those who do vote. The books are important because they bring new, useful information about voting in America and subject electoral reform efforts to critical discussion. Although the two volumes grow out of a common environment, they focus on different aspects of the voting issue. Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward's *Why Americans Don't Vote* emphasizes voter registration rules as a deterrent; Abigail Thernstrom's *Whose Votes Count: Affirmative Action and Minority Voting Rights* is concerned with reforms spurred by the Voting Rights Act.

Piven and Cloward pay a great deal of attention—four out of seven chapters—to the history of electoral participation. They emphasize two points: that voting among eligible persons in the nineteenth century was higher than it is today, and that registration as a prerequisite to voting emerged piecemeal over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as an effort to restrict the participation of undesirable groups. While the number of citizens eligible to vote expanded, the voting rate suffered compared to the mid-nineteenth century, when voting was the business of the minority Anglo-Saxon white male population.

Piven and Cloward repeat in this book what has become a standard line for those pushing for more liberal registration policies: once registered, Americans do vote. Registration laws, historically set up to restrict voting, seem to continue producing that effect. Of the historic means of mobilizing voters—political parties, patronage politics and religious fundamentalism—only fundamentalism has been noticeable since the "good government" reforms. The decline of the first two factors, coupled with the rise of formal registration rules, is "why Americans don't vote."

The final chapter of this book is devoted to reform efforts of the 1980s, in which the authors have been involved. Working with Human SERVE, a voter registration group, Piven and Cloward are seeking to overcome what they perceive as the ineffective registration strategies based on what they call "door to door" organizing. The issue should be redefined in two ways, they say. First, as a matter of public policy, the responsibility for registration should be placed on government. Second, as a matter of strategy, voter registration drives should center on places where large numbers of the poor do business. The two ideas dovetail. If public officials assumed responsibility, registration could be conducted at certain government or public facilities, including secondary schools, motor vehicle bureaus and such agencies as commodity distribution centers, Social Security offices or public utility bill collection centers where the poor seek assistance.

Piven and Cloward admit that the results of their campaign are inconclusive, but they dispute critics who say the massive registration drive of 1984 was ineffective because the new registrants did not turn out to vote. In fact, registration policy did not change significantly. In states like New York, Ohio and Texas, where sympathetic governors issued executive orders allowing agency registration, the proces was still never fully implemented. Federal lawsuits to force the issue have been only marginally successful; in no decision has a court insisted on a major expansion of what a state does to register its citizens.

In the next phase Piven and Cloward would like to build a national movement for registration reform. They propose pressuring local governments—especially those where minority officials hold executive authority—to improve registration procedures. The resulting expansion of the electorate should be enough to persuade the Federal government to enact national legislation, they say.

Whatever the tactical benefits of this approach, there are also complications. In the South, some local registrars now use more flexible methods, but the results reveal the limits of procedural change. The increases in registration come disproportionately among whites, merely perpetuating the traditional imbalance at a higher level of total voter enrollment. In cases where minorities do reach parity in participation, it results mainly from community organization. Looked at from that perspective, minority groups are burdened by cumbersome registration procedures, but we are hardly helping matters by asking them to shift their focus to lobbying (sometimes sympathetic) state or county election officials. Indeed, community-based organization is necessary if potential voters are to have some trustworthy forum in which to think through issues, including whether or not it is important to vote on Election Day. In addition, Piven and Cloward assume that members of Congress will be impressed by local successes and press for reform, when in fact many of them feel threatened by the possibility of an expanded electorate—as evidenced by the fate of proposals for campaign finance reform and universal voter registration in the last Congress.

Thernstrom's *Whose Votes Count* examines uneven participation from a different perspective than do Piven and Cloward. She focuses on the expansion of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. First, a word about that legislation is in order.

Several voting rights measures have been passed by Congress, but the main act became law in 1965. It has been re-

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newed on several occasions, but the crucial amendment came in 1982. The initial act had its greatest impact in the deep South, though successive amendments have expanded the effects of the act, making them visible throughout the nation and among minorities other than Afro-Americans.

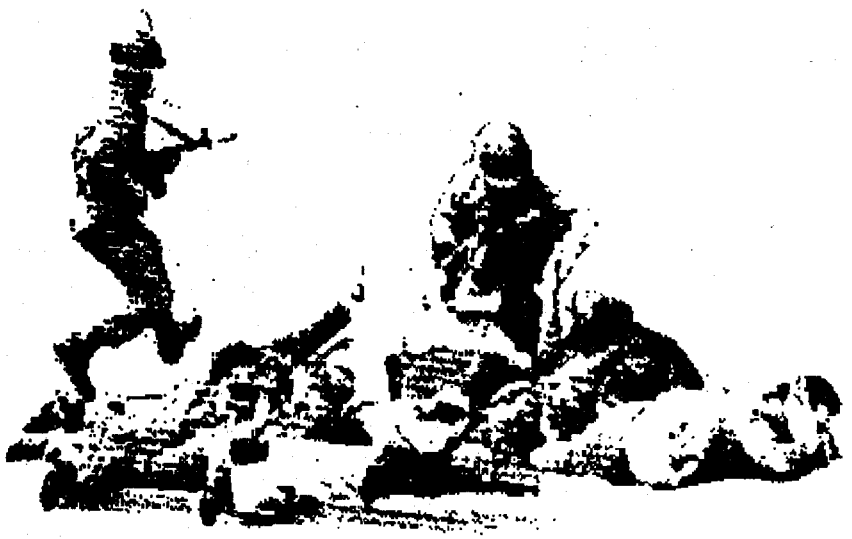
In the mid-1970s it became clear that increases in black voter registration had failed to translate into political access. Community groups responded with three strategies. The first was to remake local policies (in street paving or school segregation) by appealing over the heads of local authorities to the Federal government through lawsuits or administrative complaints; the second was to energize certain counties and central cities for a black majority takeover. The third strategy was to change from at-large elections, in which voters cast a ballot for each member of a governing body, to electing the members from districts of equal population. In the latter circumstance, voting constituencies capable of electing minority officials can be created.

The last strategy became increasingly popular with community organizations and litigation groups, especially the American Civil Liberties Union, the Center for Constitutional Rights, the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, the Legal Defense and Education Fund and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. They argued that the Voting Rights Act prohibited dilution of votes as well as outright denial of voting. They were encouraged by the attitude of the courts toward the remedial use of single-member districts in the great apportionment cases of the 1960s. Holding at-large elections up to scrutiny, the courts often found that they effectively cancel minority votes.

But in 1980, in *Mobile v. Bolden*, the Supreme Court refused to condemn the at-large system of Mobile, Alabama, because evidence did not show that the system had been adopted for the purpose of discrimination. Civil rights groups responded by seeking to amend the law so that impact rather than intent would be the main basis for determining discrimination.

When at-large districts *were* replaced by single-member districts, a dramatic and unprecedented number of blacks were elected to office. Suddenly, even activists who were despised by white officials could be chosen by their peers. But Abigail Thernstrom sees this development as a departure from the original legislative intent of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. She is sympathetic to the Supreme Court's reasoning in *Mobile*, and cites other cases to show that the case represents a constitutional approach to voting rights, and one that is faithful to the original intention of the act's framers. (Incidentally, *Mobile* would restrict the reach of the act to old-time Southern segregation contexts; in the North, it would never be clear that a system had been adopted in order to discriminate.)

Thernstrom's vision of a noble piece of legislation betrayed and distorted shapes her account of the debates in Congress in 1981-82 over the amendment requiring single-member districts—to which much of *Whose Votes Count* is devoted. Thernstrom shares the views of many of the opponents of affirmative action. This is their general line of argument: The original act was of a high purpose, but it has declined today; powerful white political officials in Washington (Representative Henry Hyde, Senators Orrin Hatch and Strom Thurmond) were duped by minorities and their white allies; well-meaning support from groups like the League of Women Voters or liberals like Representative Donald Edwards had been cunningly turned to contrary objectives—from equality to power, from commu-



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nity to group advantage. Hyde, Hatch, Thurmond and even the Reagan White House, key players in the amendment battle, were, in Thernstrom's view, no match for "the civil rights lobby." As she sees it, manipulative civil rights specialists like Laughlin McDonald of the A.C.L.U.; Frank Parker of the Lawyers' Committee; Laura Murphy, then of the A.C.L.U.; Richard Engstrom of the University of New Orleans; Steve Suitts of the Southern Regional Council; and Ralph Neas, executive director of the Washington-based Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, played self-righteous hardball and prevented a full discussion of the proposed amendment. (Here Thernstrom is one-sided; these people were critical in the fight against white supremacy in local communities.)

The 1982 amendment withstood a challenge in *Thornburg v. Gingles* (1986), in which the Supreme Court reaffirmed the remedial use of single-member districts. As a result, Thernstrom believes, the Voting Rights Act now requires single-member districts just about everywhere. And if that is so, she argues, then the standard by which we determine the place of minorities in politics is proportional representation on decision-making bodies.

Proportional representation, then, becomes the bogey man in this study. There is no effort here to understand the mechanics of it or examine how it worked when it was briefly tried in some municipalities. Rather, Thernstrom makes an oblique argument against the general notion that a group should be represented in government in some proportion to its percentage in the population. Her argument is flawed in two basic respects. First, it ignores the fact that we often measure minority progress by comparing, say, education or income to the white majority's; thus, measuring political representation by race seems justified as well. Second, it implies, ironically, a continuing emphasis on race—because the need to avoid proportionality requires as much attention to race as any plan to achieve it. What may be most unfortunate, though, in focusing on the argument against proportional representation, is that she ignores what ought to be the real debate: the limits of single-member districts as a remedy for discrimination.

Single-member districts became popular at an opportune time in the struggle against racist exclusion. At-large elections, by contrast, not only diluted minority voting strength but became a last refuge for white officials to stave off biracial government. But single-member districts are not a panacea. They require neighborhood segregation, a condition dependent on market forces and in conflict with other civil rights ideals. Within cities, black leaders may lobby for public housing—a potential source of votes—to be located in safe minority districts rather than in white or mixed neighborhoods. "Packing" may benefit incumbents but threatens biracial coalitions and operates as a disincentive to registration work.

Single-member districts have been accepted because they work. They lead to immediate office-holding. This results in a new level of equality and in improved communication among whites and minorities, which helps bring about relations that make compensatory devices unnecessary. There was plenty for Thernstrom to write about if she wanted accurately to assess the use of single-member districts; it is truly sad that she was distracted by affirmative action phobia.

Whose Votes Count is unique in its attention to the place of the voting rights movement in the struggle for empowerment. This is crucial to understanding what is happening today in the biracial communities of the South. Earl Black

Illustration by Dennis Anderson

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The Construction of Homosexuality

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and Merle Black mention this activity only briefly, a critical flaw in their *Politics and Society in the South*, and Margaret Edds's *Free at Last: What Really Happened When Civil Rights Came to Southern Politics*, while focused on community change, is limited in scope. The story that remains to be told goes far beyond Southern partisan realignment, regional integration and the decline of the civil rights movement. It takes as its point of departure the act of voting and reveals some exciting ways that whites and blacks have adjusted to the new politics, including real working coalitions and inspirational successes.

Two questions confront American racial liberals as they come to grips with the new electoral conditions. One concerns two-party politics. To their credit, Piven and Cloward raise this issue in their introduction, acknowledging that they had written another book at the dawn of the Reagan years that did not mention voting. In those days liberals too often reduced all of politics to extra-electoral mobilization and minor party protest. Today there is a tendency to err in the opposite direction, by reducing the political option itself to the constraints of electoral competition. In this view, the poor—about whom Piven and Cloward are obviously concerned—seem to have no political role except to register and vote. The authors do not sufficiently consider whether that vote will be liberal, and one can only wonder if this is an improvement over the time when poor people's absence at the polls was considered a political statement.

The other question is the role of politics in racial liberalism. The core tenets of American racial liberalism—historically centered on Afro-Americans—predate the widespread election of minority officials. Some liberals are more comfortable with the informal patterns of leadership based in protest organizations, educational institutions and the church. In part this reflects a realistic adjustment to things as they were before the Voting Rights Act. And some individuals who thrived in that setting, both white and black, made the best of the deal. But the devolution of real authority represented by electoral advances shifts the way we must see minority officials. Thernstrom's tortured effort is based, in the final analysis, on an unwillingness to accept a new leadership. The argument against single-member districts rests on a distrust of officials with real authority, answerable to autonomous constituencies. Thernstrom's nostalgia for the old system—institutional leadership selected essentially by white liberals—is not only backward-looking but dangerous.

These books demonstrate that popular participation in American elections remains a problem we must keep working to solve. But it is doubtful we can adequately address it until we are realistic about the importance of elections in politics and are ready to accept the consequences of democratic participation. □

The Right's Unsung Prophets

MICHAEL KAZIN

THE PARTY OF FEAR: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History. *By David H. Bennett. University of North Carolina Press. 509 pp. $29.95.*

GERALD L.K. SMITH: Minister of Hate. *By Glen Jeansonne. Yale University Press. 283 pp. $25.*

"It has been our fate as a nation not to have ideologies but to be one," the historian Richard Hofstadter once observed. Such irony was characteristic of the generation of intellectuals, most of them Jewish, who exchanged the sometimes naïve passions of 1930s radicalism for the always skeptical faith of cold war liberalism. Horrified at the political mayhem being committed by Joe McCarthy and his ilk, they began to question the rationality of any mass upsurge that nailed its banner to one version of "Americanism" and dared its enemies either to salute or jump ship. Less careful scholars than Hofstadter lumped the Populists of the 1890s together with the Red-hunting Legionnaires of their own day as exemplars of the deluded masses whose often paranoid attacks on an educated elite masked deep insecurities about their place in a society ruled by bureaucrats and experts.

The radicals who began writing history in the 1960s rejected the condescending notion that "status anxiety" could explain away movements that had inspired millions to fight for American ideals. Instead, young scholars (and some older ones, like Herbert Gutman) envisioned a new past in which industrial workers, freed slaves, middle-class women and farmers defined themselves as the true defenders of the republican creed, against corporations and government officials whose wealth and abusive power had betrayed it. This vigorous, politically charged interpretation casts the common people as reasonable actors in their own affairs rather than as the dupes of demagogues and confidence men. Revising Hofstadter's epigram, contemporary historians have established that at least two national ideologies warred within a shared civic language, and only those scholars who pay close attention to the trinity of class, race and gender can unravel the evolution and meaning of the conflict.

But left-wing historians have paid almost no attention to the mass movements on the right whose goals they (retrospectively) detest. "The people" thus appear to have been concerned exclusively with organizing unions, struggling for racial equality and pride, campaigning for suffrage and the like. When mentioned at all, those contemptible individuals who crusaded against immigration, civil liberties, Communism, Jews, Catholics and anyone without European ancestors on both parents' sides seem either the frightened defenders of a crumbling status quo or pathological yahoos. *Their* definitions and uses of Americanism are neglected, although they often carried the day.

David H. Bennett's lengthy volume attempts to fill the vacuum. *The Party of Fear: From Nativist Movements to the New Right in American History* is a virtual textbook of movements that sought to protect the nation's virtue by excluding or repressing the people and ideas that might threaten it. Bennett begins with the anti-Catholic prejudices colonists imported from Elizabethan England and ends with George Bush, as Vice President, assuring the embattled Jerry Falwell, "America is in crying need of the moral vision you have brought to our political life." In between he parades, for several pages each, a predictably disagreeable assortment of Know-Nothings, professional anti-Semites, Ku Kluxers, John Birchers and Aryan supremacists. Bennett dutifully tells us which ethnic groups, classes and religious denomina-

Michael Kazin teaches history at American University. He is the author of Barons of Labor *(University of Illinois Press) and is writing a book on populism in the twentieth-century United States.*

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tions prevailed in which organizations and explains how, depending on locale, a nativist bigot could be either a pro-labor reformer or a conservative farmer.

But aside from its arresting title, *The Party of Fear* fails to capture the drawing power of these movements, or to explain how they provided their adherents with a vision of an alternative America as well as a collective outlet for their anxiety and rage. For example, Father Charles Coughlin is accurately described as "a brilliantly articulate spokesman" for a middling stratum of largely Catholic craftsmen, shopkeepers and housewives whose fragile expectations of economic security had been shattered by the Great Depression. Bennett traces the priest's trajectory from mellifluous advocate of the New Deal to bitter mouthpiece for Nazi propaganda. Yet, while referring to Coughlin's "ingenious manipulation of Americanist themes," he never conveys what made the Canadian-born priest the most popular radio speaker of the 1930s. Nor does he describe how Coughlin mixed populist diatribes against bankers and bureaucrats with frequent references to papal encyclicals and the Blessed Virgin to convince his massive flock that his blueprint for "social justice" harmonized with both democratic and Catholic doctrine.

An overall argument does run through Bennett's comprehensive if dry narrative. In the 1930s and 1940s, he asserts, restrictive quotas, economic collapse and the gradual blurring of white ethnic loyalties finally caused the waves of anti-immigrant agitation to subside. In the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan had boasted a membership of 2 million and briefly held sway over several state legislatures and hundreds of towns. But that was the final major chapter in the long saga of old nativism. What replaced it, according to Bennett, were a variety of "inverted nativisms" that substituted internal conspiracies—by well-born Communists in government and New Deal liberals in the media and academe—for the obsolete bogey of alien hordes.

Bennett's emphasis on that transition is sound if unremarkable, though current campaigns against bilingualism and Korean greengrocers signify that fears of the alien menace may not have been so well interred after all. Yet he doesn't examine a more fundamental political distinction: that between right-wing appeals that have succeeded since the 1930s and those which, like the K.K.K. and the Aryan Nations, demonstrate their marginality by relying on terrorism rather than media consultants. Joe McCarthy, George Wallace and Richard Viguerie grabbed and held a measure of power because they knew how to couch their anti-Communism and antiliberalism in populist terms. And when they faltered, more respectable sorts like Spiro Agnew and Ronald Reagan surged into office with a similar assault on what McCarthy had sneeringly called "the young men who were born with spoons in their mouths." It's a pity that, amid his valuable accumulation of detail, Bennett couldn't find room to reflect on how class resentments that once brought New Deal Democrats to power later helped elect the likes of Richard Nixon and Ed Koch.

In contrast, political acumen was the last thing of which Gerald L.K. Smith could be accused. When Smith died in 1976, he was best known as the builder, in the Ozark town of Eureka Springs, Arkansas, of the nation's first Christian theme park—featuring a Bible Museum, elaborately staged Passion Play and seventy-foot-high statue of Jesus in the shape of a cross. But three decades earlier, the husky, blue-eyed preacher had been the most notorious bigot in the United States.

During his heyday, lasting from the mid-1930s to the early 1950s, Smith set a standard for public vileness that has never quite been equaled. An aggressive, intensely dramatic speaker, he traveled across the country praising Hitler for fighting Communism, calling blacks a lazy, syphilitic race and blaming Jews for every sin from the killing of Christ to the founding of the United Nations. Through his newspaper, *The Cross and the Flag*, and a number of short-lived front groups with patriotic names like United Mothers of America and the America First Party, he kept sounding the alarm as loudly and luridly as one man could. It helped that, as his biographer Glen Jeansonne writes, Smith was so addicted to his work that he felt guilty if he slept more than a few hours each night.

All that activity, however, played to a steadily diminishing audience. Smith, who grew up in rural Wisconsin and began his career as a fundamentalist minister, was most effective at the height of the Depression, when he directed his rage at the rich. As the devoted organizer for Huey Long's Share Our Wealth Society, which aimed to confiscate earnings of more than $1 million a year and distribute them throughout society, he signed up 7 million members by 1935 with a combination of fundamentalist hellfire and brilliant oratorical ploys.

For Smith, Long was a saintly father-führer, as well as a pragmatic anchor. After the Kingfish was assassinated in 1935, Smith continued to display the verbal gifts which led H.L. Mencken to call him "the greatest rabble-rouser seen

SLIPPERY ELM

When the Slippery Elms in summer leaf plunge
(as later the maples draining sugar will plunge),
honest rhapsodics, into a spate of talk,
sap turns to wine, and the plein air
to a thronged cafe where everyone gestures—
(except one languid Beauty).
Sun renders each blade a raconteur,
each leaf in the tossing branches, a tongue,
a provocative tongue to cull replies
about the coming event of night.

Burning bushes are natural phenomena:
roses of sharon in fencerows,
fox grapes and swollen concords,
privet hedges in boxcar trim, clapboards,
bless them, horizontal if not plumb,
and manmade signs dazzled on the pavement.
One says "Let's Go Bowling!"
Let us bowl then you and I
by the lambent fast-food emblems,
and under the tossing alley trees,
cheer the moon, sliced pale, as she climbs
through a joinery of limber straws.

Emily Hiestand

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on earth since Apostolic times," but the message turned increasingly ugly and irrational. Spotting Jewish conspiracies behind every Federal action he opposed, Smith would have been a joke if his delivery had been less captivating. As it was, his sporadic campaigns for state and national office attracted few votes, and his tours resulted in little more than angry pickets and a 10,000-page F.B.I. file. His retreat to the Ozarks late in life was the most sensible thing Smith had done in years.

Jeansonne, who is a specialist in far-right personalities, has produced a perversely enthralling portrait of the failed zealot. The book reads like a political horror novel; one keeps turning the pages to learn what malevolent absurdity Smith will utter next. But Jeansonne misses the opportunity to probe the sources of his subject's popularity. Why did women form the majority of Smith's followers, both as passive spectators and volunteers? Why did powerful figures like Henry Ford and Michigan Senator Arthur Vandenberg, for a time, pay expenses for and tribute to a man who told a Congressional committee that President Roosevelt "was a Fascist, a Communist dupe, maybe even a Jew"? The congruence of Ford's anti-Semitism and Vandenberg's isolationism with Smith's own beliefs does not explain why the auto magnate and the Republican leader supported a fanatic who, it would seem, could do them no good.

Perhaps the very qualities that made Smith anathema to liberals also endeared him to an odd assortment of native-born Protestants. The minister of hate had a distinctively American talent for blending ideas from the right and the left without realizing their contradictory origins. He grew up in a family that revered Fighting Robert LaFollette for his crusades against the trusts and corrupt politicians; promoted a post–World War II plan for a guaranteed national income that he imagined "plutocratic industrialists" would oppose; and in his 70s could recite William Jennings Bryan's entire "Cross of Gold" speech. Despite his affection for Nazism, Smith never doubted that his fulminations against the establishment above and his supposed racial inferiors below were squarely in the American tradition. And, in a disturbing sense, he was correct.

Flag-waving, Bible-quoting bigots from Smith to their far more skillful, and less paranoid, cousins in the Robertson wing of the contemporary Republican Party

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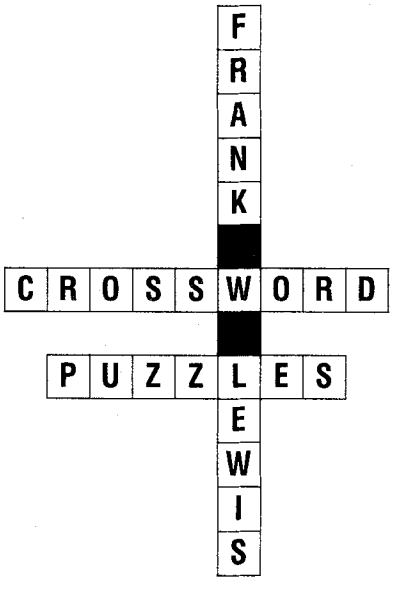

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have always played an important role for the American right. With a candor those who aspire to high office cannot afford, they define and dramatize the gut issues. As such, they often presage, in overheated fashion, themes that later will become commonplace. Smith, for example, endorsed Barry Goldwater in 1964 and was strangely optimistic after Lyndon Johnson buried his candidate at the polls. "The Republican Party has become a white man's party" and "the Christian party," Smith exulted at the time. Clearly, the left has no monopoly on unsung prophets.

Those who make a living writing about social movements should realize how little we know about the wellsprings of popular Americanism. Bennett and Jeansonne give us some valuable glimpses into the phenomenon, but their histories chronicle more than interpret. They say almost nothing about the activists who, since before the Civil War, have sold a message of racism by cloaking it in democratic rhetoric about the rights of the majority. That majority is proud to be American but is unsure and divided about what that identity should mean. Left intellectuals should not allow their aversion to patriotic kitsch to obscure the critical nature of that question. □

THEATER.

THOMAS M. DISCH

Enrico IV
Ulysses in Nighttown
A Country Doctor

The moment of Modernism (1914–1924) bypassed the theater much as a major highway may circle round a city, partly from a regard for tradition (so much real estate would have to be demolished), partly from its own priority of moving at top speed. Theater, as much as quilting, is a traditional art. Its functional repertory is older than opera's or ballet's, and it is correspondingly more difficult for innovators to come up with a new wrinkle that might represent a significant improvement on Sophocles or Shakespeare or Sheridan or Schiller. What else is Modernism meant to do if not to modernize, that is, improve upon an older, worn-out way of doing things?

Often the Modernist aesthetic was confused with the shock produced by certain key theatrical works, usually because of their sexual explicitness. This is a confusion that astute showmen exploit to this day. Bare flesh and high art have been hand in glove from the time of Isadora Duncan to . . . two of the plays here reviewed. I do not mean to deplore the association of Eros and Apollo, only to question its distinctive modernity. Throughout the nineteenth century, writers continually strained at the limits of a permissible candor. Should Flaubert and Hardy be accounted modernists? Ibsen and Strindberg? De Sade? The generality of Jacobean and Restoration dramatists?

In one respect, the early Modernists did have their own handle on sex, in the ways they reflected the theories of the unconscious proposed by Freud and his epigones. O'Neill's deployment of the aside, in *Strange Interlude*, as the direct expression of the unconscious (or the preconscious) is arguably a Modernist innovation, and one that would have its full flowering in the absurdist comedies of the 1960s and after, plays in which the subtexts of daily life are expressed as naturalistic dialogue. But as thousands of highly traditional novels, plays and films evidence, there is nothing inherently Modernist in a story that reflects insights derived from psychoanalysis. Sophocles, after all, was there before Freud.

What *is* distinctively Modernist is an insistence on dispensing with illusion, on making the audience see the work of art from its maker's perspective. It is not the model that is naked, in Modernist practice, but the artist. Analytical Cubism divorces the means of representation—shading, perspective, foreshortening—from the object presented; it creates spaces that can only exist on the canvas, or in the mind. A Braque is like an X-ray of a Poussin or a Cézanne, a picture not of what the artist saw but, self-referentially, of the process of painting. (The naïve viewer is apt to approach such paintings by trying to reconstitute the fractured surface into familiar images: a face, a violin, a coffee cup.)

In literature, this process was rarely taken so far. Pound and Eliot, for all their discontinuities, never surrendered such staples of illusion as scene and character. They achieved shock value as poets generally have, by engaging in flights of rhetoric and seeking out metaphors where they had not been sought before, by enlarging the domain of what is allowed to be beautiful. Only Gertrude Stein had the courage, in her poems and plays, to emulate the Cubists *tout court*, and her reward was to be regarded as a kind of

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idiot savant, a process in which she somewhat colluded in her autobiographical works. Her poetry was unread, her plays unperformed until their revival in the late 1960s and early 1970s by Al Carmines, whose musical settings and stagings of *In Circles* and other works revealed, X-ray-like, the underlying structures and meanings that had so long gone unperceived. Even now, however, despite Carmines's clarifications, Stein's plays are not part of the standard repertory.

What, then, did Modernism in its first generation yield theatrically? Pirandello and Brecht, both of whose works are characterized by an insistence on their own theatrical artifice—by, as Brecht puts it, *Entfremdungseffekt*, a sense of estrangement. Brecht achieved this effect by a variety of devices that challenge the entranced suspension of disbelief: by song, soliloquy, stylization of scenery and gesture—by reclaiming for serious theater all that it had ceded, in the course of two centuries, to opera and ballet.

Pirandello, less programmatically, wrote dramas that used the paradox of theatrical illusion in ways that restored the word "play" to its original sense. His essential inspiration is expressed with wonderful concision by the title of his most famous play, *Six Characters in Search of an Author*. His next-most-famous play is *Enrico IV*, currently to be seen in a Roundabout Theatre Company production starring Paul Hecht. *Enrico IV* is one of those plays, like *Phaedra* or *Hamlet*, that require an actor of stellar luminescence, and Hecht (who just prior to this engagement was the most vivid presence in the Public Theater's *Coriolanus*) fills the bill. It is not a notably physical performance, but the play doesn't require that. It demands a voice that is both large and mercurial, and an intelligence to match.

The plot, as in most great plays, is very simple—or high-concept, in Hollywood parlance. The hero is a rich aristocrat who sustained a head injury while masquerading as the German emperor, Henry IV, and then awoke believing his own masquerade, a belief that has been sustained for many agreeable years thanks to his wealth and the conspiracy of friends and hirelings. Now those friends have come together, under the guidance of a psychiatrist, to shock "Enrico IV" back to a true sense of himself. This much is established in Act I; in the second act Pirandello, and Enrico, enjoy the situation, and the audience at the Roundabout will, too, though not all the actors can play at quite the pace that Hecht sets. This is less of a liability, however, than it would be in a naturalistic play, since there can be a kind of drollery in the woodenness of the play's "sane" characters.

The set, by Marjorie Bradley Kellogg, is the objective correlative of Pirandello's conceit—an imposing Romanesque archway framing the acting space, its massive granite blocks belied by the spindly two-by-four "column" at stage left. Despite this telltale carpentry, it is hard not to believe in the fake granite. One feels the same about Enrico's sovereignty. The set, and John Gleason's lighting, take some liberties with the text (as when Enrico protests against the anachronism of electricity, though his servants are constantly fiddling with the light box), but their liberties are justified by the poetry of the scene painting.

Much more could be said about *Enrico IV*, but really, Pirandello says it best. He and Hecht and director J Ranelli, in happy confluence, have made this one of the Roundabout's best productions in some time.

I wish I could be so enthusiastic about the Harold Clurman Theatre's treatment of Marjorie Barkentin's adaptation of James Joyce's *Ulysses*. *Ulysses in Nighttown* first appeared in 1958, with Zero Mostel as Leopold Bloom, and it was one of the very first plays I saw as a young refugee from Minnesota. I loved it. Everyone loved it. It made Mostel a star. I can still remember how he mugged the kissing of a leper and turned back the tide with a dainty flick of his finger.

Steve Coats in the same role somehow does not shine anything like as brightly. It seems cruel to say so, because he is evidently trying very hard, and in an ampler and better-thought-out production his efforts might not have registered as wasted. In the event, however, his very strenuousness—the mugging and slapstick—tell against him, since there are few sensations so oppressive as a steady succession of misfiring jokes presented to a half-full house, where only at odd intervals a single chortle or sniff of amusement punctuates the gloom.

The gloom is not figurative: It is the set—black paint from one brick wall to the other, pierced by three doorways leading to deeper glooms. Above the center door, immobilized in a box, is a Narrator (Robert Molnar) who reads (with many fumbles) those parts of the text that hadn't entirely evolved from novel to drama. Bad enough that one has to

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settle for long chunks of expository prose instead of a proper *mise en scène*, but to spotlight the Narrator so is a deadly miscalculation.

Indeed, for all my fond recollections of the 1958 production, maybe the entire play is a miscalculation. The possibility is alluring. The Nighttown section of the novel is a hefty 180 pages, all cast in ready-to-play dramatic form. But Barkentin can't bear to sacrifice the drollery of Joyce's stage directions, so that as the Narrator reads from the text: "In pantomime dame's stringed mobcap, crinoline and bustle, widow Twankey's blouse with muttonleg sleeves buttoned behind, grey mittens and cameo brooch," etc., the actress so accoutred points to each item of her inventoried wardrobe in turn. This spelling-out of the text's every image makes of the stage events little more than a series of illustrations. What also does not work, theatrically, is the novel's characteristic shorthand for stream-of-consciousness. On the page, a reader has no difficulty accepting a passage like the following as a transcript of Bloom's thoughts: "No thoroughfare. Close shave that but cured the stitch. Must take up Sandow's exercises again. On the hands down. Insure against street accident too. The Providential." But spoken by an actor onstage it sounds like nothing but Joyce being read aloud.

On the face of it, making a stage adaptation of Kafka's six-page-long short story "A Country Doctor" is an even more doubtful proposition. But in production, at the RAPP Theater on East 4th Street, it made for a livelier show, though the relation of Kafka's story to Len Jenkin's adaptation was rather that of Bible text to midrashim, becoming ever more tenuous as Jenkin strayed farther afield from his source. Indeed, what is most beautiful and memorable in the story is not shown on the stage, except in half-hearted pantomime, and this for the good reason that "A Country Doctor" represents Kafka at his most Kafkaesque, unconcerned with plot or plausibility, presenting raw nightmare images that only an animated film could show as they are painted in the text and in the reader's imagination. Components of the tale include a threatened rape (acted out at some length, in slow motion), a blizzard, a close-up view of an uncannily disgusting wound, and the doctor's forced disrobing by his patient's family and "village elders," as they sing a demented nursery rhyme: "Strip his clothes off, then he'll heal us, / If he doesn't, kill him dead!" This is sung by the RAPP players, as a round, to the tune of "Frère Jacques," but unaccountably the disrobing is not acted out, though John J. Harmon, the actor playing the doctor (identified in the program as "Franz Kafka"), does re-enter nude in the next scene, having to suffer all the embarrassment (and chills) of nudity without the benefit of the *coup de théâtre* his actual undressing onstage would have produced.

Of the material that was Jenkin's rather than Kafka's, I confess that it has mostly evaporated from my memory. There is a good deal of simulated sex, sometimes taking place in the background while other people are talking, and a longish sequence representing a hitchhiker on his way to a wedding who is picked up by a truck driver and carries on a fairly normal conversation. The general level of acting is high, as it usually is at RAPP, and the set by Alexis Siroc evokes the decor of *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, as do a couple of the earlier tableaux in the play.

The problem with both adaptations is that neither Joyce nor Kafka wrote works that accommodate themselves to theatrical performance. One element of Modernism was to encourage novelists to create works that were specifically "novelistic," that could only exist on the page, unlike the novels of Austen, Dickens, James et al., which were conceived in "scenic" formats that accommodate themselves unproblematically to adaptation. Joyce's intent in *Ulysses* was to create a kind of encyclopedia; Kafka's intent, in a story like "A Country Doctor," was more like that of a lyric poet than a conventional storyteller. As well try to adapt the *Britannica* to the stage, or Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale." ☐

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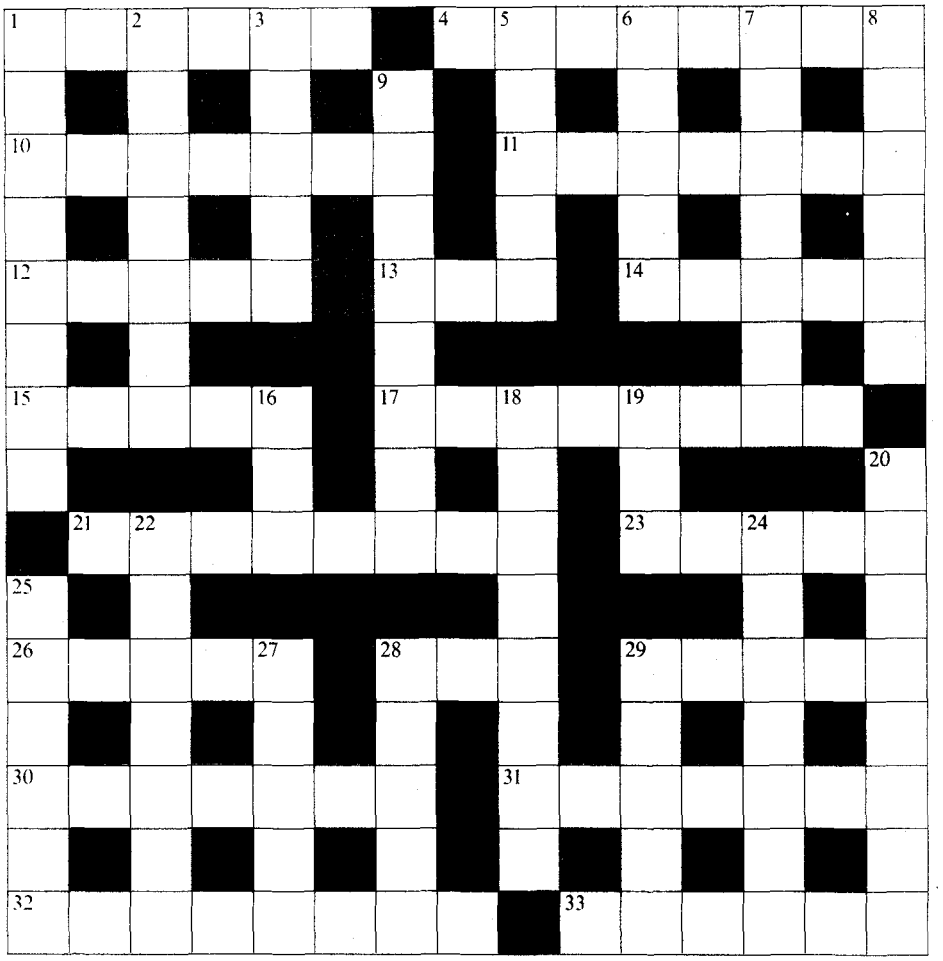

ACROSS

1 What Britishers take to the top floor to find something in the bra department? (6)
4 Would such an old carriage be made by someone who also makes 32? (8)
10 With a scrambled egg lost by it, it could resemble a frog of a sort. (7)
11 Those who are playfully engaged in something that fits only the very young. (7)
12 One might indicate the time for guard duty. (5)
13 A roll of bills, as they say, brings back Marjorie of somewhat teetery fame. (3)
14 See 28 across
15 Truly this was considered somewhat of a tongue-twister, but it went with free delivery. (5)
17 See 26
21 One in the Bible had a place to sleep, but has finally gone crazy. (8)
23 A dated but enthusiastic call for fish? (5)
26 and 17 But they aren't necessarily small-minded service people. (5,8)
28 and 14 When you see this guy duck—you might have something narcotic! (8)
29 Go over the books, though you might not get credit in certain places if you do. (5)
30 An absence of depravity, particularly for the beginners. (7)
31 Roseate variety popular with gardeners? (3,4)
32 Is this shape not different for early touring-car types? (8)
33 One of those small things that talent showed a lot of in the old days! (The slang version of money for many such.) (6)

DOWN

1 Certainly not going in the direction of the unfortunate! (8)
2 The boat is not so heavy, but it might be a good match. (7)
3 Take something of small value—obviously to fulfil chores. (5)
5 Worn out like most cars have to be? (5)
6 Is one a happy wanderer? On the contrary, angry! (5)
7 It's nothing to write a song appropriate for a concert in the park! (4,3)
8 You can't say there's no point taking a flower at a time when lilies might be more suitable! (6)
9 One made by the keyhole type, perhaps—in its entirety. (2,1,5)
16 See 19
18 Played by the organ pedal—or just read as an adjunct? (8)
19 and 16 down Directed by someone who might be called "Bossy"—like some monks? (6)
20 Merchandising down, for example? (Or the loss felt when this is altered?) (4,4)
22 Now in New York or Illinois, it used to be in Indonesia. (7)
24 Possessed a place to land fish, possibly. (7)
25 A sort of author comes up with a play on words—being the opposite of a close-down operation. (4,2)
27 More than one tried to win the cup—the one of our country. (5)
28 Mother and child, possibly found in the lodge. (5)
29 Put down what the British say they are going to have, if they try. (5)

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